ESSAYS,

Literary, Moral & Philosophical

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BRITISH MUSEUM

AS A RECORD

OF FRATERNAL AFFECTION,

THE FOLLOWING ESSAYS ARE INSCRIBED TO

JACOB RUSH,

Judge of the Third District of Pennsylvania,

BY HIS FRIEND

AND BROTHER,

THE AUTHOR.

January 9, 1798.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

MOST of the following Eſſays were publiſhed in the Muſeum, and Columbian Magazine, in this City, ſoon after the end of the revolutionary war in the United States. A few of them made their firſt appearance in pamphlets. They are now publiſhed in a ſingle volume, at the requeſt of ſeveral friends, and with a view of promoting the ends at firſt contemplated by them. Two of the Eſſays, viz: that upon the uſe of Tobacco, and the account of remarkable circumſtances in the conſtitution and life of Ann Woods, are now ſubmitted for the firſt time to the eye of the public. The author has omitted in this collection two pamphlets which he publiſhed in the year 1772, upon the ſlavery of the Negroes, becauſe he conceived the object of them had been in part accom-

pliſhed, and becauſe the Citizens of the United States have ſince that time been furniſhed from Great Britain and other countries, with numerous tracts upon that ſubject, more calculated to complete the effect intended by the author, than his early publications.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1798.

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Eſſays,

LITERARY, MORAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

A PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA, AND FOR CONDUCTING EDUCATION AGREEABLY TO A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. ADDRESSED TO THE LEGISLATURE AND CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE YEAR 1786.

BEFORE I proceed to the ſubject of this eſſay, I ſhall point out, in a few words, the influence and advantages of learning upon mankind.

I. It is friendly to religion, inaſmuch as it aſſiſts in removing prejudice, ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm, in promoting juſt notions of the Deity, and in enlarging our knowledge of his works.

II. It is favourable to liberty. Freedom can exiſt only in the ſociety of knowledge. Without learning, men are incapable of knowing their rights, and where learning is confined to a few people, liberty can be neither equal nor univerſal.

III. It promotes juſt ideas of laws and government. "When the clouds of ignorance are diſpelled (ſays the Marquis of Beccaria) by the radiance of knowledge, power trembles, but the authority of laws remains immoveable."

IV. It is friendly to manners. Learning in all countries, promotes civilization, and the pleaſures of ſociety and converſation.

V. It promotes agriculture, the great baſis of national wealth and happineſs. Agriculture is as much a ſcience as hydraulics, or optics, and has been equally indebted to the experiments and reſearches of learned men. The highly cultivated ſtate, and the immenſe profits of the farms in England, are derived wholly from the patronage which agriculture has received in that country, from learned men and learned ſocieties.

VI. Manufactures of all kinds owe their perfection chiefly to learning—hence the nations of Europe advance in manufactures, knowledge, and commerce, only in proportion as they cultivate the arts and ſciences.

For the purpoſe of diffuſing knowledge through every part of the ſtate, I beg leave to propoſe the following ſimple plan.

I. Let there be one univerſity in the ſtate, and let this be eſtabliſhed in the capital. Let law, phyſic, divinity, the law of nature and nations, œconomy, &c. be taught in it by public lectures in the winter ſeaſon,

after the manner of the European univerſities, and let the profeſſors receive ſuch ſalaries from the ſtate as will enable them to deliver their lectures at a moderate price.

II. Let there be four colleges. One in Philadelphia; one at Carliſle; a third, for the benefit of our German fellow citizens, at Lancaſter; and a fourth, ſome years hence at Pittſburg. In theſe colleges, let young men be inſtructed in mathematics and in the higher branches of ſcience, in the ſame manner that they are now taught in our American colleges. After they have received a teſtimonial from one of theſe colleges, let them, if they can afford it, complete their ſtudies by ſpending a ſeaſon or two in attending the lectures in the univerſity. I prefer four colleges in the ſtate to one or two, for there is a certain ſize of colleges as there is of towns and armies, that is moſt favourable to morals and good government. Oxford and Cambridge in England are the ſeats of diſſipation, while the more numerous, and leſs crouded univerſities and colleges in Scotland, are remarkable for the order, diligence, and decent behaviour of their ſtudents.

III. Let there be free ſchools eſtabliſhed in every townſhip, or in diſtricts conſiſting of one hundred families. In theſe ſchools let children be taught to read and write the Engliſh and German languages, and the uſe of figures. Such of them as have parents that can afford to ſend them from home, and are diſpoſed to extend their educations, may remove their children from the free ſchool to one of the colleges.

By this plan the whole ſtate will be tied together by one ſyſtem of education. The univerſity will in time furniſh maſters for the colleges, and the colleges will furniſh maſters for the free ſchools, while the free ſchools, in their turns, will ſupply the colleges and the univerſity with ſcholars, ſtudents and pupils. The ſame ſyſtems of grammar, oratory and philoſophy, will be taught in every part of the ſtate, and the literary features of Pennſylvania will thus deſignate one great, and equally enlightened family.

But, how ſhall we bear the expenſe of theſe literary inſtitutions?——I anſwer—Theſe inſtitutions will *leſſen* our taxes. They will enlighten us in the great buſineſs of finance—they will teach us to encreaſe the ability of the ſtate to ſupport government, by encreaſing the profits of agriculture, and by promoting manufactures. They will teach us all the modern improvements and advantages of inland navigation. They will defend us from haſty and expenſive experiment in government, by unfolding to us the experience and folly of paſt ages, and thus, inſtead of adding to our taxes and debts, they will furniſh us with the true ſecret of leſſening and diſcharging both of them.

But, ſhall the eſtates of orphans, batchelors and perſons who have no children, be taxed to pay for the ſupport of ſchools from which they can derive no benefit? I anſwer in the affirmative, to the firſt

part of the objection, and I deny the truth of the latter part of it. Every member of the community is intereſted in the propagation of virtue and knowledge in the ſtate. But I will go further, and add, it will be true œconomy in individuals to ſupport public ſchools. The batcheſor will in time ſave his tax for this purpoſe, by being able to ſleep with fewer bolts and locks to his doors—the eſtates of orphans will in time be benefited, by being protected from the ravages of unprincipled and idle boys, and the children of wealthy parents will be leſs tempted, by bad company, to extravagance. Fewer pillories and whipping poſts, and ſmaller goals, with their uſual expenſes and taxes, will be neceſſary when our youth are properly educated, than at preſent; I believe it could be proved, that the expenes of confining, trying and executing criminals, amount every year, in moſt of the counties, to more money than would be ſufficient to maintain all the ſchools that would be neceſſary in each county. The confeſſions of theſe criminals generally ſhow us, that their vices and puniſhments are the fatal conſequences of the want of a proper education in early life.

I ſubmit theſe detached hints to the conſideration of the legiſlature and of the citizens of Penſylvania. The plan for the free ſchools is taken chiefly from the plans which have long been uſed with ſucceſs in

Scotland, and in the eaſtern ſtates * of America, where the influence of learning, in promoting religion, morals, manners, and good government, has never been exceeded in any country.

The manner in which theſe ſchools ſhould be ſupported and governed—the modes of determining the characters and qualifications of ſchoolmaſters, and the arrangement of families in each diſtrict, ſo that children of the ſame religious ſect and nation, may be educa- as much as poſſible together, will form a proper part of a law for the eſtabliſhment of ſchools, and therefore does not come within the limits of this plan.

OF THE MODE OF EDUCATION PROPER IN A REPUBLIC.

THE buſineſs of education has acquired a new complexion by the independence of our country. The form of government we have aſſumed, has created a new claſs of duties to every American. It becomes us, therefore, to examine our former habits upon this ſubject, and in laying the

* There are 600 of theſe ſchools in the ſmall ſtate of Connecticut, which at this time have in them 25,000 ſcholars.

foundations for nurſeries of wiſe and good men, to adapt our modes of teaching to the peculiar form of our government.

The firſt remark that I ſhall make upon this ſubject is, that an education in our own, is to be preferred to an education in a foreign country. The principle of patriotiſm ſtands in need of the reinforcement of prejudice. and it is well known that our ſtrongeſt prejudices in favour of our country are formed in the firſt one and twenty years of our lives. The policy of the Lacedemonians is well worthy of our imitation. When Antipater demanded fifty of their children as hoſtages for the fulfillment of a diſtant engagement, thoſe wiſe republicans refuſed to comply with his demand, but readily offered him double the number of their adult citizens, whoſe habits and prejudices could not be ſhaken by reſiding in a foreign country. Paſſing by, in this place, the advantages to the community from the early attachment of youth to the laws and conſtitution of their country, I ſhall only remark, that young men who have trodden the paths of ſcience together, or have joined in the ſame ſports, whether of ſwimming, ſcating, fiſhing, or hunting, generally feel, thro' life, ſuch ties to each other, as add greatly to the obligations of mutual benevolence.

I conceive the education of our youth in this country to be peculiarly neceſſary in Pennſylvania, while our citizens are compoſed of the natives of ſo many different kingdoms in Europe. Our ſchools of learning,

by producing one general, and uniform ſyſtem of education, will render the maſs of the people more homogeneous, and thereby fit them more eaſily for uniform and peaceable government.

I proceed in the next place, to enquire, what mode of education we ſhall adopt ſo as to ſecure to the ſtate all the advantages that are to be derived from the proper inſtruction of youth; and here I beg leave to remark, that the only foundation for a uſeful education in a republic is to be laid in Religion. Without this there can be no virtue, and without virtue there can be no liberty, and liberty is the object and life of all republican governments.

Such is my veneration for every religion that reveals the attributes of the Deity, or a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, that I had rather ſee the opinions of Confucius or Mahomed inculcated upon our youth, than ſee them grow up wholly devoid of a ſyſtem of religious principles. But the religion I mean to recommend in this place, is that of the New Teſtament.

It is foreign to my purpoſe to hint at the arguments which eſtabliſh the truth of the Chriſtian revelation. My only buſineſs is to declare, that all its doctrines and precepts are calculated to promote the happineſs of ſociety, and the ſafety and well being of civil government. A Chriſtian cannot fail of being a republican. The hiſtory of the creation of man, and of the relation

of our ſpecies to each other by birth, which is recorded in the Old Teſtament, is the beſt refutation that can be given to the divine right of kings, and the ſtrongeſt argument that can be uſed in favor of the original and natural equality of all mankind. A Chriſtian, I ſay again, cannot fail of being a republican, for every precept of the Goſpel inculcates thoſe degrees of humility, ſelf-denial, and brotherly kindneſs, which are directly oppoſed to the pride of monarchy and the pageantry of a court. A Chriſtian cannot fail of being uſeful to the republic, for his religion teacheth him, that no man "liveth to himſelf." And laſtly, a Chriſtian cannot fail of being wholly inoffenſive, for his religion teacheth him, in all things to do to others what he would wiſh, in like circumſtances, they ſhould do to him.

I am aware that I diſſent from one of thoſe paradoxical opinions with which modern times abound; and that it is improper to fill the minds of youth with religious prejudices of any kind, and that they ſhould be left to chooſe their own principles, after they have arrived at an age in which they are capable of judging for themſelves. Could we preſerve the mind in childhood and youth a perfect blank, this plan of education would have more to recommend it; but this we know to be impoſſible. The human mind runs as naturally into principles as it does after facts. It ſubmits with difficulty to thoſe reſtraints or partial

diſcoveries which are impoſed upon it in the infancy of reaſon. Hence the impatience of children to be informed upon all ſubjects that relate to the inviſible world. But I beg leave to aſk, why ſhould we purſue a different plan of education with reſpect to religion, from that which we purſue in teaching the arts and ſciences? Do we leave our youth to acquire ſyſtems of geography, philoſophy, or politics, till they have arrived at an age in which they are capable of judging for themſelves? We do not. I claim no more then for religion, than for the other ſciences, and I add further, that if our youth are diſpoſed after they are of age to think for themſelves, a knowledge of one ſyſtem, will be the beſt means of conducting them in a free enquiry into other ſyſtems of religion, juſt as an acquaintance with one ſyſtem of philoſophy is the beſt introduction to the ſtudy of all the other ſyſtems in the world.

Next to the duty which young men owe to their Creator, I wiſh to ſee a regard to their country, inculcated upon them. When the Duke of Sully became prime miniſter to Henry the IVth of France, the firſt thing he did, he tells us, "Was to ſubdue and forget "his own heart." The ſame duty is incumbent upon every citizen of a republic. Our country includes family, friends and property, and ſhould be preferred to them all. Let our pupil be taught that he does not belong to himſelf, but that he is public property. Let him be taught to love his family, but let him be

taught, at the ſame time, that he muſt forſake, and even forget them, when the welfare of his country requires it. He muſt watch for the ſtate, as if its liberties depended upon his vigilance alone, but he muſt do this in ſuch a manner as not to defraud his creditors, or neglect his family. He muſt love private life, but he muſt decline no ſtation, however public or reſponſible it may be, when called to it by the ſuffrages of his fellow citizens. He muſt love popularity, but he muſt deſpiſe it when ſet in competition with the dictates of his judgement, or the real intereſt of his country. He muſt love character, and have a due ſenſe of injuries, but he muſt be taught to appeal only to the laws of the ſtate, to defend the one, and puniſh the other. He muſt love family honour, but he muſt be taught that neither the rank nor antiquity of his anceſtors, can command reſpect, without perſonal merit. He muſt avoid neutrality in all queſtions that divide the ſtate, but he muſt ſhun the rage, and acrimony of party ſpirit. He muſt be taught to love his fellow creatures in every part of the world, but he muſt cheriſh with a more intenſe and peculiar affection, the citizens of Pennſylvania and of the United States. I do not wiſh to ſee our youth educated with a ſingle prejudice againſt any nation or country; but we impoſe a taſk upon human nature, repugnant alike to reaſon, revelation and the ordinary dimenſions of the human heart, when we require him to embrace, with equal affection, the whole family of mankind. He muſt be taught to amaſs

wealth, but it muſt be only to encreaſe his power of contributing to the wants and demands of the ſtate. He muſt be indulged occaſionally in amuſements, but he muſt be taught that ſtudy and buſineſs ſhould be his principal purſuits in life. Above all he muſt love life, and endeavour to acquire as many of its conveniences as poſſible by induſtry and economy, but he muſt be taught that this life "is not his own," when the ſafety of his country requires it. Theſe are practicable leſſons; and the hiſtory of the commonwealths of Greece and Rome ſhow, that human nature, without the aids of Chriſtianity, has attained theſe degrees of perfection.

While we inculcate theſe republican duties upon our pupil, we muſt not neglect, at the ſame time, to inſpire him with republican principles. He muſt be taught that there can be no durable liberty but in a republic, and that government, like all other ſciences, is of a progreſſive nature. The chains which have bound this ſcience in Europe are happily unlooſed in America. Here it is open to inveſtigation and improvement. While philoſophy has protected us by its diſcoveries from a thouſand natural evils, government has unhappily followed with an unequal pace. It would be to diſhonour human genius, only to name the many defects which ſtill exiſt in the beſt ſyſtems of legiſlation. We daily ſee matter of a periſhable nature rendered durable by certain chemical operations. In like manner, I conceive, that it is poſſible to combine power in

ſuch a way as not only to encreaſe the happineſs, but to promote the duration of republican forms of government far beyond the terms limited for them by hiſtory, or the common opinions of mankind.

To aſſiſt in rendering religious, moral and political inſtruction more effectual upon the minds of our youth, it will be neceſſary to ſubject their bodies to phyſical diſcipline. To obviate the inconveniences of their ſtudious and ſedentary mode of life, they ſhould live upon a temperate diet, conſiſting chiefly of broths, milk and vegetables. The black broth of Sparta, and the barley broth of Scotland, have been alike celebrated for their beneficial effects upon the minds of young people. They ſhould avoid taſting Spirituous liquors. They ſhould alſo be accuſtomed occaſionally to work with their hands, in the intervals of Study, and in the buſy ſeaſons of the year in the country. Moderate ſleep, ſilence, occaſional ſolitude and cleanlineſs, ſhould be inculcated upon them, and the utmoſt advantage ſhould be taken of a proper direction of thoſe great principles in human conduct,—ſenſibility, habit, imitations and aſſociation.

The influence of theſe phyſical cauſes will be powerful upon the intellects, as well as upon the principles and morals of young people.

To thoſe who have ſtudied human nature, it will not appear paradoxical to recommend, in this eſſay, a particular attention to vocal muſic. Its mechanical

effects in civilizing the mind, and thereby preparing it for the influence of religion and government, have been ſo often felt and recorded, that it will be unneceſſary to mention facts in favour of its uſefulneſs, in order to excite a proper attention to it.

I cannot help bearing a teſtimony, in this place, againſt the cuſtom, which prevails in ſome parts of America, (but which is daily falling into diſuſe in Europe) of crouding boys together under one roof for the purpoſe of education. The practice is the gloomy remains of monkiſh ignorance, and is as unfavorable to the improvements of the mind in uſeful learning, as monaſteries are to the ſpirit of religion. I grant this mode of ſecluding boys from the intercourſe of private families, has a tendency to make them ſcholars, but our buſineſs is to make them men, citizens and chriſtians. The vices of young people are generally learned from each other. The vices of adults ſeldom infect them. By ſeparating them from each other, therefore, in their hours of relaxation from ſtudy, we ſecure their morals from a principal ſource of corruption, while we improve their manners, by ſubjecting them to thoſe reſtraints which the difference of age and ſex, naturally produce in private families.

From the obſervations that have been made it is plain, that I conſider it is poſſible to convert men into republican machines. This muſt be done, if we expect them to perform their parts properly, in the great machine

of the government of the ſtate. That republic is ſophiſticated with monarchy or ariſtocracy that does not revolve upon the wills of the people, and theſe muſt be fitted to each other by means of education before they can be made to produce regularity and uniſon in government.

Having pointed out thoſe general principles, which ſhould be inculcated alike in all the ſchools of the ſtate, I proceed now to make a few remarks upon the method of conducting, what is commonly called, a liberal or learned education in a republic.

I ſhall begin this part of my ſubject, by bearing a teſtimony againſt the common practice of attempting to teach boys the learned languages, and the arts and ſciences too early in life. The firſt twelve years of life are barely ſufficient to inſtruct a boy in reading, writing and arithmetic. With theſe, he may be taught thoſe modern languages which are neceſſary for him to ſpeak. The ſtate of the memory, in early life, is favorable to the acquiſition of languages, eſpecially when they are conveyed to the mind, through the ear. It is, moreover, in early life only, that the organs of ſpeech yield in ſuch a manner as to favour the juſt pronounciation of foreign languages.

Too much pains cannot be taken to teach our youth to read and write our American language with propriety and elegance. The ſtudy of the Greek language conſtituted a material part of the literature

of the Athenians, hence the ſublimity, purity and immortality of ſo many of their writings. The advantages of a perfect knowledge of our language to young men intended for the profeſſions of law, phyſic, or divinity are too obvious to be mentioned, but in a ſtate which boaſts of the firſt commercial city in America, I wiſh to ſee it cultivated by young men, who are intended for the compting houſe, for many ſuch, I hope, will be educated in our colleges. The time is paſt when an academical education was thought to be unneceſſary to qualify a young man for merchandize. I conceive no profeſſion is capable of receiving more embelliſhments from it. The French and German languages ſhould likewiſe be carefully taught in all our Colleges. They abound with uſeful books upon all ſubjects. So important and neceſſary are thoſe languages, that a degree ſhould never be conferred upon a young man who cannot ſpeak or tranſlate them.

Connected with the ſtudy of languages is the ſtudy of Eloquence. It is well known how great a part it conſtituted of the Roman education. It is the firſt accompliſhment in a republic, and often ſets the whole machine of government in motion. Let our youth, therefore, be inſtructed in this art. We do not extol it too highly when we attribute as much to the power of eloquence as to the ſword, in bringing about the American revolution.

With the usual arts and sciences that are taught in our American colleges, I wish to see a regular course of lectures given upon History and Chronology. The science of government, whether it related to constitutions or laws, can only be advanced by a careful selection of facts, and these are to be found chiefly in history. Above all, let our youth be instructed in the history of the ancient republics, and the progress of liberty and tyranny in the different states of Europe. I wish likewise to see the numerous facts that relate to the origin and present state of commerce, together with the nature and principles of Money, reduced to such a system, as to be intelligible and agreeable to a young man. If we consider the commerce of our metropolis only as the avenue of the wealth of the state, the study of it merits a place in a young man's education; but, I consider commerce in a much higher light when I recommend the study of it in republican seminaries. I view it as the best security against the influence of hereditary monopolies of land, and, therefore, the surest protection against aristocracy. I consider its effects as next to those of religion in humanizing mankind, and lastly, I view it as the means of uniting the different nations of the world together by the ties of mutual wants and obligations.

Chemistry by unfolding to us the effects of heat and mixture, enlarges our acquaintance with the wonders of nature and the mysteries of art; hence

it has become, in moſt of the univerſities of Europe, a neceſſary branch of a gentleman's education. In a young country, where improvements in agriculture and manufactures are ſo much to be deſired, the cultivation of this ſcience, which explains the principles of both of them, ſhould be conſidered as an object of the utmoſt importance.

Again, let your youth be inſtructed in all the means of promoting national proſperity and independence, whether they relate to improvements in agriculture, manufactures, or inland navigation. Let him be inſtructed further in the general principles of legiſlation, whether they relate to revenue, or to the preſervation of life, liberty or property. Let him be directed frequently to attend the courts of juſtice, where he will have the beſt opportunities of acquairing habits of comparing, and arranging his ideas by obſerving the diſcovery of truth, in the examination of witneſſes, and where he will hear the laws of the ſtate explained, with all the advantages of that ſpecies of eloquence which belongs to the bar. Of ſo much importance do I conceive it to be, to a young man, to attend occaſionally to the deciſions of our courts of law, that I wiſh to ſee our colleges eſtabliſhed, only in county towns.

But further, conſidering the nature of our connection with the United States, it will be neceſſary to make our pupil acquainted with all the prerogatives

of the national government. He muſt be inſtructed in the nature and variety of treaties. He muſt know the difference in the powers and duties of the ſeveral ſpecies of ambaſſadors. He muſt be taught wherein the obligations of individuals and of ſtates are the ſame, and wherein they differ. In ſhort, he muſt accquire a general knowledge of all thoſe laws and forms, which unite the ſovereigns of the earth, or ſeparate them from each other.

I beg pardon for having delayed ſo long to ſay any thing of the ſeparate and peculiar mode of education proper for women in a republic. I am ſenſible that they muſt concur in all our plans of of education for young men, or no laws will ever render them effectual. To qualify our women for this purpoſe, they ſhould not only be inſtructed in the uſual branches of female education, but they ſhould be taught the principles of liberty and government; and the obligations of patriotiſm ſhould be inculcated upon them. The opinions and conduct of men are often regulated by the women in the moſt arduous enterprizes of life; and their approbation is frequently the principal reward of the hero's dangers, and the patriot's toils. Beſides, the firſt impreſſions upon the minds of children are generaly derived from the women. Of how much conſequence, therefore, is it in a republic, that they ſhould think juſtly upon the great ſubjects of liberty and government!

The complaints that have been made againſt religion, liberty and learning, have been, againſt each of them in a ſeparate ſtate. Perhaps like certain liquors, they ſhould only be uſed in a ſtate of mixture. They mutually aſſiſt in correcting the abuſes, and in improving the good effects of each other. From the combined and reciprocal influence of religion, liberty and learning upon the morals, manners and knowledge of individuals, of theſe, upon government, and of government, upon individuals, it is impoſſible to meaſure the degrees of happineſs and perfection to which mankind may be raiſed. For my part, I can form no ideas of the golden age, ſo much celebrated by the poets, more delightful, than the contemplation of that happineſs which it is now in the power of the legiſlature of Pennſylvania to confer upon her citizens, by eſtabliſhing proper modes and places of education in every part of the ſtate.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STUDY OF THE LATIN AND GREEK LANGUAGES, AS A BRANCH OF LIBERAL EDUCATION, WITH HINTS OF A PLAN OF LIBERAL INSTRUCTION, WITHOUT THEM, ACCOMMODATED TO THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, MANNERS, AND GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

IT requires the recollection of eſcapes from a lion and a bear, to encounter the ſtrong and univerſal prejudice, in favor of the Latin and Greek languages, as a neceſſary branch of liberal education. If, in combating this formidable enemy of human reaſon, I ſhould be leſs ſucceſful than the Hebrew ſtripling was in contending with the giant of the Philiſtines, I hope it will be aſcribed wholly to the want of ſkill to direct arguments, which, in other hands, would lay this tyrant in the duſt.

I ſhall attempt to diſcuſs this queſtion, by firſt delivering a few general propoſitions. I ſhall afterwards apply theſe propoſitions, and anſwer ſuch arguments as are uſually urged in favor of the Latin and Greek languages as neceſſary parts of an academic education.

I. The great deſign of a liberal education is, to prepare youth for uſefulneſs here, and for happineſs hereafter.

II. The proper time for acquiring the neceſſary branches of knowledge for theſe important purpoſes, is in the firſt eighteen years of life.

III. From four to five years are uſually ſpent in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages.

IV. The knowledge of things always preceeds the knowledge of words. Children diſcover the truth of this obſervation every day. They know all the objects around them, long before they are able to call them by their proper names, or even to articulate ſounds of any kind. It is ſuppoſed that children acquire more ideas of things in the firſt three years of their lives, than they acquire in any thirty years afterwards.

V. The acquiſition of words leſſens the ability of the mind to acquire ideas. That underſtanding muſt have uncommon ſtrength, which does not contract an oblique direction by being employed four or five years in learning the Latin or Greek languages.

VI. The difficulty of acquiring thoſe dead languages, and the little pleaſure which accompanies the knowledge of them in early life, occaſion the principal obſtacles to teaching, in maſters, and and learning, in ſcholars.

The famous Buſby is ſaid to have died of "bad Latin;" that is, the ungrammatical verſions of his ſcholars broke his heart. How few boys reliſh Latin and Greek leſſons! The pleaſure they ſometimes diſcover in learning them, is derived either from the tales they read, or from a competition, which awakens a love of honour, and which might be diſplayed upon a hundred more uſeful ſubjects; or it may ariſe from a deſire of gaining the good will of their maſters or parents. Where theſe incentives are wanting, how bitter does the ſtudy of languages render that innocent period of life, which ſeems excluſively intended for happineſs! "I wiſh I had never been born," ſaid a boy of eleven years old, to his mother: "why, my ſon?" ſaid his mother. "Becauſe I am born into a world of trouble." "What "trouble," ſaid his mother ſmiling, "have you "known, my ſon?"—"Trouble enough, mamma," ſaid he, "two Latin leſſons to get, every day." This boy was not deficient in genius nor in application to books. He often amuſed himſelf in reading natural and ancient hiſtory, was inquiſitive after knowledge of every kind, and was never heard to aſk a fooliſh or impertinent queſtion.

VII. Many ſprightly boys of excellent capacities for uſeful knowledge, have been ſo diſguſted with the dead languages, as to retreat from the drudgery of ſchools, to low company, whereby they have become bad mem-

bers of ſociety, and entailed miſery upon all who have been connected with them.

VIII. The Latin and Greek languages are the firſt teſts of genius in ſchools. Where boys diſcover a want of capacity for them, they are generally taken from ſchool, or remain there the butts of their companions. Dr. Swift early diſcovered a want of taſte for the dead languages. It would be unjuſt to mention this fact, without aſcribing it to the voice of reaſon and nature ſpeaking in this great man. He had no reliſh for the huſks of literature. Truth and knowledge were alone commenſurate to the dignity and extent of his mind.

IX. The ſtudy of ſome of the Latin and Greek claſſics is unfavourable to morals and religion. Indelicate amours, and ſhocking vices both of gods and men, fill many parts of them. Hence an early and dangerous acquaintance with vice; and hence, from an aſſociation of ideas, a diminſhed reſpect for the unity and perfections of the true God. Thoſe claſſics which are free from this cenſure, contain little elſe but the hiſtories of murders, perpetrated by kings, and related in ſuch a manner as to excite pleaſure and admiration. Hence the univerſal preference of the military character to all others.—To the ſame cauſe we may aſcribe the early paſſion for a cockade in ſchool boys; and the the frequent adoption of the principles and vices of

armies, by young men who are deſtined for other profeſſions.

X. The ſtudy of the Latin and Greek languages is improper in the preſent ſtate of ſociety and government in United States. While Greek and Latin are the only avenues to ſcience, education will always be confined to a few people. It is only by rendering knowledge univerſal, that a republican form of government can be preſerved in our country.

I ſhall hereafter mention other reaſons why the ſtudy of theſe languages is improper in a peculiar manner in the United States.

XI. The cultivation of the Latin and Greek languages is a great obſtacle to the cultivation and perfection of the Engliſh language.

XII. It is likewiſe one of the greateſt obſtructions that has ever been thrown in the way of propagating uſeful knowledge.

On each of theſe two laſt propoſitions I ſhall treat more fully in another place.

I proceed now to conſider the principle arguments that have been urged in favour of the Latin and Greek languages, as neceſſary parts of a liberal education.

1. A knowledge of the Latin or Greek grammar, it has been ſaid, is neceſſary for our becoming acquainted with Engliſh grammar. There was a time when the authority of a great name impoſed this opinion upon me, and even led me publicly to adopt it, but I am now ſatisfied that it is wholly deſtitute of truth. I have known many bachelors and maſters of arts, who were incorrect Engliſh ſcholars, and many perſons of both ſexes, ignorant of the dead languages, who both wrote and ſpoke Engliſh, agreeably to the ſtricteſt rules of modern grammar. Indeed I cannot help aſcribing the late improvements in the Engliſh language chiefly to the neglect of the Latin and Greek languages. The Greek is ſuppoſed to be the moſt perfect language both in its conſtruction and harmony, that has ever been ſpoken by mortals. Now this language was not learned through the medium of any other. Hence it was acquired and ſpoken with equal propriety by all ranks of people, and not leſs by an apple woman, than by the celebrated orators of Greece. In that highly favoured nurſery of human genius, the avenues to knowledge were not obſtructed by two or three dead, or even foreign languages; nor was the precious ſeaſon of youth, when memory is moſt faithful, and curioſity moſt active, mis-ſpent in learning words. Hence the fame of ancient Greece in arts and ſciences, and hence the ſublimity of the orations of Demoſthenes, and of the poems of Homer. There was nothing in the compoſition

of the blood, or in the ſtructure of the nerves of the ancient Greeks, which gave them a pre-eminence over the reſt of mankind.- It aroſe entirely from their being too wiſe to waſte the important years of education in learning to call ſubſtances, by two or three different names, inſtead of ſtudying their qualities and uſes. The conſtruction of the Engliſh, differs materially from that of the Latin and Greek languages; and the attempt to accommodate it to the Greek and Roman grammars has checked its improvement in many inſtances. I hope to prove hereafter, that a knowledge of grammar, like a knowledge of pronunciation, ſhould be learned only by the *ear* in early life. The practice of teaching boys Engliſh grammar, through the medium of a dead language, is as abſurd, as it would be for a parent to force his child to chew pebbles or mahogany, in order to prepare its gums or teeth to maſticate bread and meat.

2. We are told that the Roman and Greek authors are the only perfect models of taſte and eloquence, and that it is neceſſary to ſtudy them, in order to acquire their taſte and ſpirit. Strange language indeed! what! did nature exhauſt herſelf in Greece and Rome? Are the ancients the only repoſitories of the great principles of taſte and genius? I reject the ſuppoſition; and will venture to aſſert, in oppoſition to it, that we ſhall never equal the ſublime and original authors of antiquity until we ceaſe to ſtudy them.

Nature is always the ſame. Let us yield to her inſpiration alone, and avail ourſelves of alluſions to the many diſcoveries which have lately been made in her works. Shakeſpeare owes his fame, as a ſublime and original poet, to his having never read (as is generally believed) a Latin or Greek author. Hence he ſpoke from nature, or rather, nature ſpoke thro' him. But it ſhould be remembered that art, as well as nature feeds the flame of genius. By neglecting the ancients, we may borrow imagery from the many uſeful and well known arts which have been the inventions of modern ages, and thereby ſurpaſs the antients in the variety and effect of our compoſitions. It is to this paſſion for ancient writers that we are to aſcribe the great want of originality, that marks too many of the poems of modern times. A judicious critic has obſerved, that the deſcriptions of Spring, which are publiſhed every year in England, apply chiefly to the climates of Greece and the neighbourhood of Rome. This is the natural effect of a ſervile attachment to the ancient poets. It inſenſibly checks invention and leads to imitation. The pleaſure with which the poems of the ſhoemaker, the milk-maid, and the Ayreſhire ploughman, have been read by all claſſes of people, proves that an acquaintance with the Greek or Roman poets, is not neceſſary to inſpire juſt ideas, or to produce harmony in poetry. Dr. Swift, as an author, owes nothing to the ancients. He has attained to what Pope calls the "majeſty" and what Lord Shafteſbury calls the "divineneſs" of ſim-

plicity in writing. All his compoſitions, exemplify his own perfect definition of ſtyle. They conſiſt of "proper words in their proper places." I have heard of a learned gentlemen in Scotland, who, when any of his friends propoſed to introduce a ſtranger to him, aſked only, as a proof of his taſte for compoſition, whether he admired Dr. Young's Night Thoughts? Were I to receive a viſitor upon ſimilar terms, my only queſtion ſhould be, "does he admire the ſtyle of Dr. "Swift?"

Under this head I ſhall only add, that the moſt intimate acquaintance with the Roman and Greek writers will not produce perfection of ſtyle in men who are devoid of taſte and genius. Hence we ſometimes find the moſt celebrated teachers of the Latin and Greek languages extremely deficient in Engliſh compoſition. I acknowledge that Milton, Addiſon, Hume, Middleton and Bolingbroke, whoſe ſtyles have been ſo much admired, were all Latin and Greek ſcholars. But in theſe authors, a native ſtrength of genius, and taſte preſerved their writings from the affectation and obſcurity which are imparted to Engliſh compoſitions, by an adherence to the grammars and arrangement of the Latin and Greek languages.

3. It has been ſaid that we cannot know the uſe or meaning of thoſe numerous Engliſh words which are derived from the Latin and Greek, without a knowledge of thoſe languages. To this I may anſwer, that

what proves too much, proves nothing at all. The argument that has been mentioned, proves that a knowledge of the Celtic, the Saxon, the German, the French, the Italian and the Dutch, is neceſſary to enable us to underſtand the uſe of many Engliſh words; for far the greateſt part of them are derived from thoſe languages. But I object further to this argument, that if a knowledge of the derivation of Engliſh words from the Greek and Latin languages, ſhould be followed by a ſtrict regard to their original meaning, it would lead us into many miſtakes. The derivation of the word "angel" would lead us to contemplate a meſſenger, inſtead of a perfect finite intelligence. The derivation of the word "rebellion" would lead us to contemplate a war commenced by a conquered people: inſtead of a reſiſtance to the juſt authority of government. Many other inſtances of ſimilar incongruity might be mentioned between the meaning of certain Engliſh words, and their Roman and Greek originals. I conclude therefore that a knowledge of the derivation of words is not neceſſary to teach us their proper uſe and meaning. Cuſtom, which is the law and rule of ſpeech, and what *is*, inſtead of what *ſhould be* common, will always govern the uſe of words. Where cuſtom is unknown, modern Engliſh dictionaries will ſupply its place.

Here I beg leave to repeat that the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin languages by the Engliſh nation has been one of the greateſt obſtructions, that ever

has been thrown in the way of the propagation of uſeful knowledge. By rendering our language unintelligible to the greateſt part of the people who hear or read it, it has made it an improper vehicle of inſtruction. The orations of Demoſthenes, we are told, were, like earthquakes in ancient Greece. They moved whole nations. The reaſon of this is plain. He never uſed a ſingle word in any of them, but what was alike intelligible to all claſſes of his hearers. The effect of Indian eloquence upon the councils and wars of the ſavages in America, depends wholly upon its being perfectly underſtood and felt by every member of their communities. It has often been remarked that in England no play will ſucceed without action, while ſentiment alone inſures the loudeſt claps of applauſe, in the theatres of France. The reaſon of this is obvious. The Engliſh language requires action to tranſlate it, to half the common audience of a theatre, whereas the French language, which is uniform and ſtationary, is underſtood, and, of courſe, the ſentiment which is conveyed by it, is felt and enjoyed by all who hear it. The writings of Voltaire are quoted by the hairdreſſers and milliners of Paris, becauſe they are written in the ſimple language of the country, while many of the moſt celebrated Britiſh authors cannot be underſtood by common readers, without the help of a dictionary or interpreter. Richardſon and Fielding are an exception to this remark. They are alike intelligible and acceptable to the learned and

unlearned, inaſmuch as they have conveyed all their ideas in plain, but decent Engliſh words. The popularity of the methodiſt preachers may be aſcribed in part to their ſpeaking in a language that is intelligible to the common people. It is true, many of them are deficient in education, but this deficiency appears more in an ignorance of the conſtruction of the Engliſh language, than in the proper uſe of Engliſh words, and perhaps this may be aſcribed chiefly to their extempore mode of preaching. It is happy for ſome of thoſe churches where the Latin and Greek languages are conſidered as neceſſary parts for education in their clergy, that part of the public worſhip of God is confined to reading the ſcriptures, and to forms of prayer, both of which are written in Engliſh, and are intelligible to every claſs of hearers. Such congregations are not left to the mercy of their preachers in every part of divine ſervice. A pious woman in London who heard her miniſter ſpeak of the Deity, by the name of the great Philanthropiſt, aſked when ſhe came home, what heathen god Philanthropiſt was? There are few ſermons compoſed by Latin and Greek ſcholars in which there are not many hundred words, that are equally unintelligible to a majority of their hearers. Hence I cannot help thinking that were John the Baptiſt to appear again in our world, and to ſend to ſome of our doctors of divinity, or to many of our young preachers to enquire after the ſigns of their divine miſſion, few of them could adopt the anſwer

of our Saviour and ſay that to the poor the goſpel was "preached." It will require a total ignorance of the Latin and Greek languages, or an uncommon mixture of good ſenſe and piety in a preacher who is acquainted with them, to addreſs an audience in ſuch a manner as to be perfectly underſtood by the illiterate part of them.

I wiſh to preſs the conſiderations that have been mentioned under this head, home to the feelings of the friends of virtue and religion. It has been demonſtrated, that the ſtudy of the ancient claſſics is hurtful to morals. It is equally plain that the corruption of our language by the conſtant ſubſtitution of words of Greek and Latin origin, to thoſe which had become familiar and univerſal, from long uſage, has greatly retarded the progreſs of knowledge of all kinds, but in a more eſpecial manner, a great proportion of that ſpecies of it which is delivered from the pulpit. I appeal to the conſciences of miniſters of the goſpel of all denominations, whether, inſtead of expoſing their their candidates for the miniſtry, to temptation from that kind of learning "which puffeth up, without "edifying," it would not be better to direct them to employ the time which is uſually miſ-pent in acquiring it, in ſtudying the ſcriptures, and in making themſelves maſters of the Engliſh language? It is impoſſible to tell what great improvements would be made by theſe means in moral happineſs in the United States.

4. We are told that a knowledge of the Greek and Roman languages, is neceſſary to enable us to underſtand the frequent alluſions that are made by Engliſh writers to the mythology of thoſe ancient nations. To this I anſwer, that the leſs we know of this ſubject, the better; for what is the hiſtory of the ancient fables, but an agreeable deſcription of frauds—rapes—and murders, which, while they pleaſe the imagination, ſhock the moral faculty? It is high time to ceaſe from idolizing the idolatry of Greece and Rome. Truth alone is knowledge, and ſpending time in ſtudying Greek and Roman fictions, is only labouring to be more ignorant. If there is any moral contained in theſe fictions, it is ſo much involved in obſcurity, as not to be intelligible to a young man at that time of life in which he uſually becomes acquainted with them. Happy will it be for the preſent and future generations, if an ignorance of the Latin and Greek languages, ſhould baniſh from modern poetry, thoſe diſgraceful invocations of heathen gods, which indicate no leſs a want of genius, than a want of reverence for the true God. I ſhall only add in this place, that the beſt writers in the Engliſh language ſeldom borrow alluſions from the mythology of the Greek or Roman nations. Richardſon and Fielding have paſſed them by, and hence ariſes another reaſon why the works of thoſe authors are ſo univerſally intelligible and acceptable to to all claſſes of readers.

5. It has been ſaid, that the Latin language has become a neceſſary part of liberal knowledge, inaſmuch as the European nations have by common conſent made it the vehicle of their diſcoveries. This argument had ſome weight while ſcience conſiſted only learning what was known; but ſince the enquiries of philoſophers have been directed to new objects of obſervation and experiment, the Latin language has not been able to keep pace with the number and rapidity of their diſcoveries. Where ſhall we find Latin words to convey juſt ideas of the many terms which electricity—chemiſtry—navigation—and many other ſciences have introduced into our modern languages? It is from experience of the inſufficiency of the Latin language for this purpoſe, that moſt of the modern nations of Europe have been obliged to adopt their own languages, as the vehicles of their diſcoveries, in ſcience. If this argument had been acknowledged to have weight in Europe, it ſhould, from local circumſtances, have no weight in America. Here we have no intercourſe with any part of Europe, except her commercial ſeaports, and in theſe, all buſineſs is tranſacted in modern languages. America, with reſpect to the nations of Europe, is like the new planet, with reſpect to thoſe, whoſe revolutions have long been deſcribed in the ſolar ſyſtem. She is placed at too great a diſtance from moſt of them, to be within the influence of a reciprocal exchange of the rays of knowledge. Like a certain animal, deſcribed by the

naturaliſts, ſhe muſt impregnate herſelf. But while ſhe retains a friendly intercourſe with Great Britain, all the valuable diſcoveries which are publiſhed in Latin, in any part of Europe, will be tranſmitted to her through the medium of Engliſh tranſlations.

6. It has been ſaid that a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages is neceſſary to the learned profeſſions of law—phyſic—and divinity. To this I anſwer, that the moſt uſeful books in each of theſe profeſſions are now tranſlated, or written in Engliſh, in conſequence of which, knowledge in law—phyſic—and divinity has been greatly multiplied and extended. I ſee no uſe at preſent for a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, for a lawyer, a phyſician, or a divine, in the United States, except it be to facilitate the remembrance of a few technical terms which may be retained without it. Two of the moſt celebrated and ſucceſsful lawyers in the United States, are ſtrangers to the Latin language. An eminent phyſician, who ſpent ſeveral of the years of his youth in learning this language, has aſſured me, that he had not more than three times in his life found any advantage from it. Very few phyſicians, I believe, (profeſſors of medecine only excepted, who are obliged to review Latin theſes previouſly to their publication) retain their knowledge of this language, after they become eſtabliſhed in buſineſs, and if they do, it is preſerved leſs from neceſſity, than from vanity, or a deſire of reviving, by reading

the claſſics, the agreeable ideas of the early and innocent part of their lives.

I know that it is commonly believed, that a knowledge of the Greek language, is neceſſary to enable a divine fully to underſtand the New Teſtament. But I object to this opinion, that the moſt uſeful and neceſſary parts of this divine book are intelligible to the loweſt capacities in its preſent Engliſh dreſs: and I believe further, that there have been as many diſputes among the critics, about the meaning of words, and about editions and tranſlations of the New Teſtament, as there have been among unlearned chriſtians about the meaning of its obſcure and difficult paſſages. If a knowledge of the Greek language be neceſſary to enable a divine to underſtand the New Teſtament, it follows, that a critical knowledge of all the dialects in which the different parts of it were originally compoſed, is equally neceſſary for the ſame purpoſe; and, if neceſſary to a divine, why not to the common people, for they are equally intereſted in all the truths of revelation? The difficulties and abſurdities into which we are led by this propoſition, are too obvious to be mentioned.

We are very apt to forget the *age* in which we live. In the fifteenth century, all the knowledge of Europe was locked up in a few Greek and Latin manuſcripts. In this confined ſtate of knowledge, an acquaintance with the Latin language was thought to be neceſſary

to civilize the human mind—hence the teachers of it acquired the title of "profeſſors of humanity" in the European univerſities. But we live in an age in which knowledge has been drawn from its dead repoſitories, and diffuſed by the art of printing, in living languages, through every part of the world. Humanity has therefore changed ſides. Her gentleneſs is now altogether in favour of modern literature.

We forget not only the age, but the country likewiſe in which we live. In Europe many ancient conſtitutions—laws—treaties—official letters—and even private deeds, are written in Latin—hence the knowledge of it has ſometimes been found uſeful for ſtatesmen and lawyers—but all the conſtitutions, laws, treaties, public letters, and private deeds of the United States, are written in Engliſh; and of courſe a knowledge of the Latin language is not neceſſary to underſtand them. It is therefore as uſeleſs in America, as the Spaniſh great-coat is in the iſland of Cuba, or the Dutch foot-ſtove, at the Cape of Good Hope.

We forget further the difference of *occupation* between the inhabitants of the preſent, and of the fifteenth century. Formerly public prayers and war were the only buſineſs of man: but ſince agriculture, manufactures and commerce, have afforded ſuch different and profitable employments to mankind, there cannot be greater folly than to learn two languages which are no ways connected with the advancement of any of them.

"I once thought health, the greateſt bleſſing in the "world," ſaid Mr. Rittenhouſe to the author of this eſſay, "but I do not think ſo now. There is one thing "of much greater value, and that is time." This opinion of our excellent American philoſopher, is true every where, but in a more eſpecial manner in the United States. Here the opportunities of acquiring knowledge and of advancing private and public intereſt are ſo numerous, and the rewards of genius and induſtry ſo certain, that not a particle of time ſhould be mis-ſpent or loſt. We occupy a new country. Our principal buſineſs ſhould be to explore and apply its reſources, all of which preſs us to enterprize and haſte. Under theſe circumſtances, to ſpend four or five years in learning two dead languages, is to turn our backs upon a gold mine, in order to amuſe ourſelves in catching butterflies.

It is agreeable to hear of the progreſs of human reaſon in the gradual declenſion of the uſual methods of teaching the Latin and Greek languages within the laſt forty years in Europe. Formerly boys were obliged to commit whole volumes of Latin and Greek poetry to memory, as the only means of learning thoſe languages. Nor was this all; they were obliged to compoſe Latin verſes, without the leaſt regard being paid to genius, or taſte for poetry. The laſt act of ſchool tyranny, was to compel boys to read the ancient claſſics without the help of tranſlations. All theſe methods of teaching the dead languages are now laid

aſide. The next ray of truth that irradiates human reaſon upon this ſubject, I hope will teach us to reject the Latin and Greek languages altogether, as branches of a liberal education.

The progreſs of human reaſon ſhould likewiſe be acknowledged in having baniſhed Latin and Greek quotations from ſermons, and other religious tracts, which are intended for the common people. Such quotations are to be found only in books of ſcience, addreſſed to the members of the learned profeſſions, or to perſons who are ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages.

There are certain follies, like the objects of ſight, which cannot be ſeen when the eye is placed too near them. We are ſtruck with pity and horror in contemplating the folly diſcovered by our anceſtors in their military expeditions to the holy land of Paleſtine. The generations which are to follow us, will probably view our partiality to the claſſic ground of Greece and Rome, with ſimilar emotions. We laugh at the credulity of thoſe nations who worſhipped apes and crocodiles, without recollecting, that future ages will treat our ſuperſtitious veneration for the ancient poets and orators, with the ſame ridicule. Poſterity, in reading the hiſtory of the American revolution, will wonder that in a country where ſo many exploits of wiſdom and virtue were performed, the human underſtanding was fettered by prejudices in favour of the Latin and Greek

languages. But I hope with the hiſtory of this folly, ſome hiſtorian will convey to future generations, that many of the moſt active and uſeful characters in accompliſhing this revolution, were ſtrangers to the formalities of a Latin and Greek education.

It is high time to diſtinguiſh between a philoſopher, and a ſcholar, between things and words. "He "was educated at the college of——" ſaid a gentleman to his friend, ſpeaking of a young man who was known to them both. "You mean Sir," replied his friend, "he got his learning at the college of——; but "as to education, he appears to have received none "any where." This young man was an excellent Latin and Greek ſcholar, but knew nothing of men, or things.

Let it not be ſuppoſed from any thing that has been here advanced, that I wiſh the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages to be extinct in the world. Far from it. My wiſh is to ſee it preſerved, like the knowledge of law, or medicine, as a diſtinct profeſſion. Let the perſons, who devote themſelves to the ſtudy of theſe languages, be called linguiſts, or interpreters, and let them be paid for their tranſlations and explanations of Latin and Greek books, and other compoſitions in thoſe languages. No more confidence will be placed by the public, in the members of this new profeſſion, than is daily placed in lawyers and phyſicians, in matters of much greater importance; nor will more

credit be given to them, than we are accuſtomed to give to travellers and hiſtorians. There can be no more reaſon why every man ſhould be capable of tranſlating or judging of a Latin or Greek book, than there can be why every man ſhould be a lawyer or a phyſician, or why he ſhould be obliged to viſit Conſtantinople or Grand Cairo, in order to become acquainted with the ſituation of theſe two great cities. If this method of preſerving and applying the dead languages ſhould be adopted, young men will learn them as they do law and phyſic, by ſerving an apprenticeſhip, inſtead of going to ſchool.

The following advantages would immediately attend the rejection of the Latin and Greek languages as branches of a liberal education.

1. It would improve, and finally perfect the Engliſh language, by checking the increaſe of thoſe ſuperfluous words which are derived from the Latin and Greek languages. What uſe have we for feſtivity—celebrity—hilarity—amenity—and a hundred other duplicate words, with which Johnſon and Harris have corrupted and weakened our language, and which are unintelligible to three fourths of common Engliſh readers? The rejection of the ancient languages, would further baniſh Latin and Greek words, ſuch as, *exit*, *fecit*, *excudit*, *pinxit*, *acme*, *finis*, *bona fide*, *ipſo facto*, *ad valorem*, and a hundred others, equally diſguſting, from Engliſh compoſitions. It would moreover preſerve

our language from encroachments of French and Italian words, ſuch as *eclat—amateur—douceur—en paſſant —corps—dilettanti—con cuore—piano* and many others, all of which impair the uniformity and dignity of the Engliſh language.

2. The rejection of the Latin and Greek langauges from our ſchools, would produce a revolution in ſcience, and in human affairs. That nation which ſhall firſt ſhake off the fetters of thoſe ancient languages, will advance further in knowledge, and in happineſs, in twenty years, than any nation in Europe has done, in a hundred.

3. It will have a tendency to deſtroy the prejudices of the common people againſt ſchools and colleges. The common people do not deſpiſe ſcholars, becauſe they know more, but becauſe they know leſs than themſelves. A mere ſcholar can call a horſe, or a cow, by two or three different names, but he frequently knows nothing of the qualities, or uſes of thoſe valuable animals.

4. It would be the means of baniſhing pride from our ſeminaries of public education. Men are generally moſt proud of thoſe things that do not contribute to the happineſs of themſelves, or others. Uſeful knowledge generally humbles the mind, but learning, like fine clothes, feeds pride, and thereby hardens the human heart.

5. It would greatly encreaſe the number of ſtudents in our colleges, and thereby extend the benefits of education through every part of our country. The excellency of knowledge would then be obvious to every body, becauſe it would be conſtantly applicable to ſome of the neceſſary and uſeful purpoſes of life, and particularly to the ſecurity and order of wiſe and juſt government.

6. It would remove the preſent immenſe diſparity which ſubſiſts between the ſexes, in the degrees of their education and knowledge. Perhaps one cauſe of the miſery of many families, as well as communities, may be ſought for in the *mediocrity* of knowledge of the women. They ſhould know *more* or *leſs*, in order to be happy themſelves, and to communicate happineſs to others. By ceaſing to make Latin and Greek a neceſſary part of a liberal education, we open the doors for every ſpecies of improvement to the female part of ſociety:—hence will ariſe new pleaſures in their company,—and hence, too, we may expect a general reformation and refinement, in the generations which are to follow us; for principles and manners in all ſocieties are formed chiefly by the women.

It may be aſked here, how ſhall we employ thoſe years of a boy, that are now uſually ſpent in learning the Latin and Greek languages? I ſhall endeavour to anſwer this queſtion by laying down a ſhort plan of a liberal Engliſh education. In this undertaking, I ſhall

ſtrive to forget for a while all the ſyſtems of education I have ever ſeen, and ſuggeſt ſuch a one as is founded in the original principles of action in the human mind.

1. Let the firſt eight years of a boy's time be employed in learning to ſpeak, ſpell, read and write the Engliſh language. For this purpoſe, let him be committed to the care of a maſter, who ſpeaks correctly at all times, and let the books he reads, be written in a ſimple and correct ſtyle. During theſe years, let not an Engliſh grammar by any means be put into his hands. It is to moſt boys, under even twelve years of age, an unintelligible book. As well might we contend, that a boy ſhould be taught the names and number of the humours of the eye, or the muſcles of the tongue, in order to learn to ſee, or to ſpeak, as be taught the Engliſh language, by means of grammar. Sancho, in attempting to learn to read, by chewing the four and twenty letters of the alphabet, did not exhibit a greater abſurdity, than a boy of ſeven or eight years old does, in committing grammar rules to memory, in order to underſtand the Engliſh language. Did we wiſh to deſcribe a ſhip, ſo as to have all its parts perfectly and ſpeedily known, would we begin by deſcribing its detached parts in a ſhip-yard, or a rope-walk? Or would we not firſt fix every part in its proper place, and then explain the names and uſes of theſe parts, by ſhewing their ſubſerviency to each other? In like manner, I affirm, that the conſtruction of our language ſhould be learned by a careful attention to the places and uſes of the

different parts of ſpeech in agreeable compoſitions, and not by contemplating them in a disjointed ſtate in an Engliſh grammar. But I will add further, that grammar ſhould be taught only by the ear. Pronounciation, which is far more extenſive, and difficult, is learned only in this way. To teach concord in the arrangement of words, let the maſter converſe with his pupils as well as hear them read, and let him diſtinctly mark and correct every deviation from grammatical propriety which they utter. This method of teaching grammar has been tried with ſucceſs in the families of ſeveral gentlemen of my acquaintance. It is both rational, and practicable. It has, moreover, the authority of the wiſe Greeks to recommend it. Homer, Xenophon, Demoſthenes and Longinus, I believe, were all taught to ſpeak, read, and write their native language, without the incumbrance of a Greek grammar. I do not mean by any thing that has been advanced, to inſinuate that our pupil ſhould not be inſtructed in the principles and laws of our language. I have reſerved this part of knowledge to a much later period of his youth, at which time he will acquire it almoſt as ſoon as Moliere's "Citizen turned Gentleman," learned to diſtinguiſh between proſe and poetry. He will find that he is in poſſeſſion of this knowledge, and that the buſineſs of his maſter will be only to give names to things with which he is already acquainted.

Under this head, I ſhall only add, that the perfection of the ear, as an avenue of knowledge is not ſufficiently known. Ideas acquired through that organ, are much more durable, than thoſe acquired by the eyes. We remember much longer what we hear, than what we ſee; hence, old men recollect voices, long after they forget faces. Theſe facts are capable of great application to the buſineſs of education.

Having provided our pupil with a vehicle of knowledge, by teaching him to read and write, our next buſineſs ſhould be to furniſh him with ideas. Here it will be neceſſary to remark, that the human mind in early life firſt comprehends ſubſtances. From theſe it proceeds to actions, from actions to qualities, and from qualities to degrees. Let us therefore in education, follow this order of nature, and begin by inſtructing our pupil in the knowledge of ſubſtances, or things. For this purpoſe, let us initiate him into the knowledge of the globe on which he exiſts, by teaching him

2. Natural hiſtory. This ſtudy is ſimple and truly delightful. Animals of all kinds are often the ſubjects of converſation and diſputes among boys in their walks and diverſions. But this is not all; this ſtudy is the foundation of all uſeful and practical knowledge in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as well as in philoſophy, chemiſtry, and medecine. By making

natural hiſtory the firſt ſtudy of a boy, we imitate the conduct of the firſt teacher of man. The firſt leſſon that Adam received from his Maker in Paradiſe, was upon natural hiſtory. It is probable that the dominion of our great progenitor over the brute creation, and every other living creature, was founded upon a perfect knowledge of their names and qualities, for God appears in this, as well as in other inſtances, to have acted by the inſtrumentality of human reaſon.—Where a muſeum is wanting, all that is neceſſary for a boy to know of animals and fiſhes—inſects—trees and herbs, may be taught by means of prints.

3. Geography, is a ſimple ſcience, and accommodated to the capacity of a boy under twelve years of age. It may be perfectly underſtood by means of cards—globes—and maps; for each of theſe modes of conveying inſtruction, ſeizes upon the ſenſes and imagination. The frequent application which a boy is obliged to make of his knowledge in geography, in reading, and converſation, will ſoon fix it upon his memory, and from the *time* and *manner* in which he will acquire it, he will never forget it.

I allow four years to be employed in acquiring theſe two fundamental branches of knowledge. After our pupil has become tolerably well acquainted with them, he ſhould be inſtructed in the

4. French and German languages. Theſe will be equally neceſſary, whether commerce—phyſic—law or divinity is the purſuit of a young man. They ſhould be acquired only by the ear. Great care ſhould be taken not to permit him to learn theſe languages before he is *twelve* years old, otherwiſe he will contract ſo much of the French and German accent as will impair the prononciation of his native tongue.

5. Arithmetic, and ſome of the more ſimple branches of the mathematics ſhould be acquired between the twelfth and fourteenth years of his life.

6. Between his fourteenth and eighteenth years, he ſhould be inſtructed in grammar—oratory—criticiſm—the higher branches of mathematics—philoſophy—chemiſtry—logic—metaphyſics—chronology—hiſtory—government—the principles of agriculture, and manufactures—and in every thing elſe that is neceſſary to qualify him for public uſefulneſs, or private happineſs.

7. I know it is common to introduce what is called *Moral Philoſophy* into a ſyſtem of liberal education. The name of this ſcience is derived from the Pagan ſchools. The ſtudy of it conſtituted a material part of their learning. Inſtead of continuing this anti-chriſtian mode of teaching morals, I would propoſe a courſe of lectures to be given upon the evidences, doctrines and *precepts* of the Chriſtian religion. The laſt part of this

courſe might be made to include the whole circle of moral duties, and from the connection it would have with the evidences and doctrines of Chriſtanity it would produce an impreſſion upon the underſtanding which no time or circumſtances would ever wear away. It is by neglecting to teach young men the Chriſtian religion as a ſcience, or by the ſeparation of its morals from its principles, that colleges have become in ſo many inſtances the nurſeries of infidelity.

Extract of a letter from the reverend Mr. James Muir, principal of the academy of Alexandria in Virginia, to the Author, dated July 29, 1791.

"I HAVE read with ſatisfaction, in the Muſeum, "your obſervations on ſtudying the learned lan- "guages. There is little taſte for them in this place. "In our academy, where there are near ninety "ſtudents, not above nineteen are poring over Latin "and Greek. One of theſe nineteen was lately "addreſſed by a ſtudent of Arithmetic in the follow- "ing language—Pray, Sir, can you reſolve me, by "your Latin, this queſtion, If one buſhel of corn coſt "four ſhillings, what coſt fifty buſhels?—A demand "of this kind from a youth, is to me a proof of the "taſte of Americans in the preſent day, who prefer "the *uſeful* to the *ornamental*."

ANSWER to the foregoing letter, containing further obſervations upon the ſtudy of the Latin and Greek languages.

DEAR SIR,

IT gave me great pleaſure to find, by your polite letter of July 29th, that my opinions, upon the ſubject of the Latin and Greek languages, have met with your approbation; and that the young gentlemen who compoſe your academy had diſcovered ſo much good ſenſe in preferring *uſeful* to *uſeleſs*, or, at beſt, ornamental literature.

I have read all the replies that have been publiſhed to my opinions: and am more confirmed in the truth of them, than ever, by the weakneſs and fallacy of the objections that have been made to them. The ſtyle of ſome of thoſe replies has eſtabliſhed one of my propoſitions in the moſt forcible manner. It has demonſtrated that a knowledge of the dead languages does not confer taſte or elegance in the Engliſh language, any more than it does good breeding, or good temper. I except from this remark the candid and ingenious letters publiſhed in the Federal Gazette, ſaid to be written by Dr. Stuber, of this city.

To perſuade men, that white is *black*, or black, *white*, it is neceſſary ſometimes to make them believe that they are *grey*. The mind requires a reſting point, in paſſing from error to truth, upon many ſubjects. I ſhall avail myſelf of this weakneſs in human nature, and take the

liberty of ſuggeſting a method of teaching the Latin and Greek languages, which I conceive, will be accommodated to the preſent ſtate of the prejudices of our countrymen in their favour.

The late Dr. Franklin uſed to ſay, that the learning of a dead or foreign language might be divided into *ten* parts. That it required *five* only to learn to read it—*ſeven* to ſpeak it—and the whole *ten* to write it. Now, when we conſider how ſeldom we are called upon to *ſpeak* or *write* the Latin or Greek languages, ſuppoſe we teach our boys only to *read* them. This will cut off one half the difficulty of learning them, and and enable a boy to acquire as much of *both*, in two years, as will be neceſſary for him. He will, moreover, by this plan, be able to read more of the claſſics than are read at preſent in our ſchools. The claſſics are now read only for the ſake of acquiring a knowledge of the conſtruction of the languages in which they are written; but by the plan I have propoſed, they would be read for the ſake of the matter they contained, and there would be time enough to read each book from its beginning to its end. At preſent, what boy ever reads all the Ænead of Virgil, or the Iliad of Homer? In ſhort, few boys ever carry with them from ſchool, any thing but a ſmattering of the claſſics. They peep into a dozen of them; but are taught to attend to every thing they contain, more than to the *ſubjects* which are treated of by them.

In the way I have propoſed, a boy would be able to tranſlate all the Latin and Greek books he would meet with, and from the perfect knowledge he would acquire of them at ſchool, he would probably retain that knowledge as long as he lived.

To carry this mode of teaching the Latin and Greek languages into effect, it is abſolutely neceſſary that a boy ſhould firſt be inſtructed in *hiſtory* and *geography*. Let him read an account of the riſe, progreſs, and fall of the Greek and Roman nations; and examine, upon maps, the countries they inhabited and conquered, and their languages will ſoon become intereſting to him. The neglect of this natural and eaſy mode of inſtruction, is an inverſion of all order. The abſurdity of it was once happily expoſed by a boy of eight years old, who, with a Latin Grammar in his hand, gravely aſked his father, "who made the Latin language, and what "was it made for?" Had this boy been previouſly inſtructed in the Roman hiſtory, he would not have aſked ſuch a queſtion. Conſidering his age, it was as natural, as it was fooliſh.

There is no play common among children, that ſtrikes me with an idea of half the folly that I am ſtruck with, every time I look into a Latin ſchool, and ſee thirty or forty little boys pinioned down to benches, and declining nouns, conjugating verbs, or writing Latin verſions. I conſider the higheſt attainment in this kind of learning, as nothing more than ſucceſsful doſ-

tards, but far leſs uſeful than thoſe which are exhibited in the uſual athletic excerciſes of ſchool boys.

By adopting the plan I have propoſed, a boy will not open a Latin or Greek book, till he is fourteen or fifteen years old; ſo that the dead languages, inſtead of being the firſt, will be the laſt things he will learn at ſchool. At this age, he will learn them with half the trouble, and underſtand them much better than he would have done at nine or ten years of age. For though languages are acquired with moſt eaſe by the *ear* under puberty, yet they are acquired moſt eaſily by the *eye*, after that period of life. But there is another advantage in making the Latin and Greek languages the laſt things that are taught at ſchool. The bent of a young man's inclinations is generally known at fourteen or fifteen, and ſeldom ſooner. Now if he incline to commerce—to a military—or a naval life—or to a mechanical employment, in all of which it is agreed, Latin and Greek are unneceſſary, it will be improper to detain him any longer at ſchool, by which means much money will be ſaved by the parents, and much time ſaved by the boy, both of which are waſted by the preſent indiſcriminate and prepoſterous mode of teaching the dead languages.

The idea of the neceſſity of a knowledge of thoſe languages, as an introduction to the knowledge of the Engliſh language, begins to loſe ground. It is certainly a very abſurd one. We have ſeveral Engliſh

ſchools in our city, in which boys and girls of twelve and fourteen years old have been taught to ſpeak and write our native language with great grammatical propriety. Some of theſe children would diſgrace our bachelors and maſters of arts, who have ſpent four or five years in the ſtudy of the Latin and Greek languages in our American colleges. It is true, theſe Latin and Greek ſcholars, after a while, acquire a knowledge of our language: but it is in the ſame ſlow way, in which ſome men acquire a knowledge of the forms of good breeding. Three months inſtruction will often impart more of both, than a whole life ſpent in acquiring them ſimply by imitation.

Where there is one Latin ſcholar, who is obliged, in the courſe of his life, to *ſpeak* or *write* a Latin ſentence, there are hundreds who are not under that neceſſity. Why then ſhould we ſpend years in teaching that which is ſo rarely required in future life? For ſome years to come, the reading of the language, may be neceſſary; but a young man of fourteen or fifteen, may be taught to do this perfectly in one year, without committing a ſingle grammar rule to memory, or without *ſpoiling his hand by* writing a ſingle verſion.

Much more, in my opinion, might be ſaid in favour of teaching our young men to *ſpeak* the Indian languages of our country, than to *ſpeak* or write Latin. By their means, they might qualify themſelves to become ambaſſadors to our Indian nations, or introduce

among them a knowledge of the bleſſings of civilization and religion.

We have lately ſeen a large portion of power wreſted from the hands of kings and prieſts, and exerciſed by its lawful owners. Is it not high time to wreſt the power over the education of our youth, out of the hands of ignorant or prejudiced ſchoolmaſters, and place it in the hands of men of more knowledge and experience in the affairs of the world? We talk much of our being an *enlightened* people; but I know not with what reaſon, while we tolerate a ſyſtem of education in our ſchools, which is as diſgraceful to the human underſtanding as the moſt corrupt tenets or practices of the pagan religion, or of the Turkiſh government.

With great reſpect for your character, as well as for your preſent honourable and uſeful employment, I am, dear ſir,

Your friend and moſt obedient ſervant.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

Philadelphia, Auguſt 24, 1791.

Thoughts upon the amusements and punishments which are proper for schools. Addressed to George Clymer, esq.

Dear Sir,

The last time I had the pleasure of being in your company, you did me the honour to request my opinion upon the Amusements and Punishments which are proper for schools The subjects are of a very opposite nature, but I shall endeavour to comply with your wishes, by sending you a few thoughts upon each of them. I am sure you will not reject my opinions because they are contrary to received practices, for I know that you are accustomed to think for yourself, and that every proposition that has for its objects the interests of humanity and your country, will be treated by you with attention and candor.

I shall begin with the subjects of Amusements. Montesquieu informs us that the exercises of the last day of the life of Epaminondas, were the same as his amusements in his youth. Herein we have an epitome of the perfection of education. The amusements of Epaminondas were of a military nature; but as the profession of arms is the business of only a small part of mankind, and happily much less

neceſſary in the United States than in ancient Greece, I would propoſe that the amuſements of our youth, at ſchool, ſhould conſiſt of ſuch exerciſes as will be moſt ſubſervient to their future employments in life. Theſe are; 1. agriculture; 2. mechanical occupations; and 3. the buſineſs of the learned profeſſions.

I. There is a variety in the employments of agriculture which may readily be ſuited to the genius, taſte, and ſtrength of young people. An experiment has been made of the efficacy of theſe employments, as amuſements, in the Methodiſt College at Abington, in Maryland; and, I have been informed, with the happieſt effects. A large lot is divided between the ſcholars, and premiums are adjudged to thoſe of them who produce the moſt vegetables from their grounds, or who keep them in the beſt order.

II. As the employments of agriculture cannot afford amuſement at all ſeaſons of the year, or in cities I would propoſe, that children ſhould be allured to to ſeek amuſements in ſuch of the mechanical arts as are ſuited to their ſtrength and capacities. Where is the boy who does not delight in the uſe of a hammer—a chiſſel—or a ſaw? and who has not enjoyed a high degree of pleaſure in his youth, in conſtructing a miniature houſe? How amuſing are the machines which are employed in the manufactory of clothing of all kinds! and how full of various en-

tertainment are the mixtures which take place in the chemical arts! each of theſe might be contrived upon ſuch a ſcale, as not only to amuſe young people, but to afford a profit to their parents or maſters. The Moravians, at Bethlehem in our ſtate, have proved that this propoſition is not a chimerical one. All the amuſements of their children are derived from their performing the ſubordinate parts of ſeveral of the mechanical arts; and a conſiderable portion of the wealth of that worthy and happy ſociety is the product of the labour of their little hands.—

If, in theſe amuſements, an appeal ſhould be made to that ſpirit of competition which is ſo common among young people, it would be the means of producing more pleaſure to the children, and more profit to all who are connected with them. The wealth of thoſe manufacturing towns in England, which employ the children of poor people, is a proof of what might be expected from connecting amuſement and labour together, in all our ſchools. The product from the labour obtained in this way, from all the ſchools in the United States, would amount to a ſum which would almoſt exceed calculation.

III. To train the youth who are intended for the learned profeſſions or for merchandize, to the duties of their future employments, by means of uſeful amuſements, which are *related* to thoſe employments, will be impracticable; but their amuſements may be

derived from cultivating a ſpot of ground; for where is the lawyer, the phyſician, the divine, or the merchant, who has not indulged or felt a paſſion, in ſome part of his life, for rural improvements?——Indeed I conceive the ſeeds of knowledge in agriculture will be moſt productive, when they are planted in the minds of this claſs of ſcholars.

I have only to add under this head, that the common amuſements of children have no connection with their future occupations. Many of them injure their cloaths, ſome of them waſte their ſtrength, and impair their health, and all of them prove more or leſs, the means of producing noiſe, or of exciting angry paſſions, both of which are calculated to beget vulgar manners. The Methodiſts have wiſely baniſhed every ſpecies of play from their college. Even the healthy and pleaſurable exerciſe of ſwimming, is not permitted to their ſcholars, except in the preſence of one of their maſters.

Do not think me too ſtrict if I here exclude *gunning* from among the amuſements of young men. My objections to it are as follow.

1 It hardens the heart, by inflicting unneceſſary pain and death upon animals.

2. It is unneceſſary in civilized ſociety, where animal food may be obtained from domeſtic animals, with greater facility.

3. It conſumes a great deal of time, and thus creates habits of idleneſs.

4. It frequently leads young men into low, and bad company.

5. By impoſing long abſtinence from food, it leads to intemperance in eating, which naturally leads to intemperance in drinking.

6. It expoſes to fevers, and accidents. The newspapers are occaſionally filled with melancholy accounts of the latter, and every phyſician muſt have met with frequent and dangerous inſtances of the former, in the courſe of his practice.

I know the early uſe of a gun is recommended in our country, to teach our young men the uſe of firearms, and thereby to prepare them for war and battle. But why ſhould we inſpire our youth, by ſuch exerciſes, with hoſtile ideas towards their fellow creatures?—Let us rather inſtill into their minds ſentiments of univerſal benevolenee to men of all nations and colours. Wars originate in error and vice. Let us eradicate theſe, by proper modes of education, and wars will ceaſe to be neceſſary in our country. The divine author and lover of peace "will then "ſuffer no man to do us wrong; yea, he will re-"prove kings for our ſake, ſaying, touch not my "anointed and do my people no harm." Should the nations with whom war is a trade, approach our

coaſts, they will retire from us, as Satan did from our Saviour, when he came to aſſault him; and for the ſame reaſon, becauſe they will "find nothing in "us" congenial to their malignant diſpoſitions; for the flames of war can be ſpread from one nation to another, only by the conducting mediums of vice and error.

I have hinted at the injury which is done to the health of young people by ſome of their amuſements; but there is a practice common in all our ſchools, which does more harm to their bodies than all the amuſements that can be named, and that is, obliging them to ſit too long in *one place*, or crowding too many of them together *in one room*. By means of the former, the growth and ſhape of the body have been impaired; and by means of the latter, the ſeeds of fevers have often been engendered in ſchools. In the courſe of my buſineſs, I have been called to many hundred children who have been ſeized with indiſpoſitions in ſchool, which evidently aroſe from the action of morbid effluvia, produced by the confined breath and perſpiration of too great a number of children in one room. To obviate theſe evils, children ſhould be permitted, after they have ſaid their leſſons, to amuſe themſelves in the open air, in ſome of the uſeful and agreeable exerciſes which have been mentioned. Their minds will be ſtrengthened, as well as their bodies relieved by them. To oblige a ſprightly boy to ſit *ſeven* hours in a day, with his

little arms pinioned to his ſides, and his neck unnaturally bent towards his book; and for *no crime!*—what cruelty and folly are manifeſted, by ſuch an abſurd mode of inſtructing or governing young people!

I come next to ſay a few words upon the ſubject of PUNISHMENTS which are proper in ſchools.

In barbarous ages every thing partook of the complexion of the times. Civil, eccleſiaſtical, military, and domeſtic puniſhments were all of a cruel nature. With the progreſs of reaſon and chriſtianity, puniſhments of all kinds have become leſs ſevere. Solitude and labour are now ſubſtituted in many countries, with ſucceſs, in the room of the whipping-poſt and the gallows.—The innocent infirmities of human nature are no longer proſcribed, and puniſhed by the church. Diſcipline, conſiſting in the vigilance of officers, has leſſened the ſuppoſed neceſſity of military executions; and huſbands—fathers—and maſters now bluſh at the hiſtory of the times, when wives, children, and ſervants, were governed only by force. But unfortunately this ſpirit of humanity and civilization has not reached our ſchools. The rod is yet the principal inſtrument of governing them, and a ſchoolmaſter remains the only deſpot now known in free countries. Perhaps it is becauſe the little ſubjects of their arbitrary and capricious power have not been in a condition to complain. I ſhall endeavour there-

fore to plead their cauſe, and to prove that corporal puniſhments (except to children under four or five years of age) are never neceſſary, and always hurtful, in ſchools.—The following arguments I hope will be ſufficient to eſtabliſh this propoſition.

1. Children are ſeldom ſent to ſchool before they are capable of feeling the force of rational or moral obligation. They may therefore be deterred from committing offences, by motives leſs diſgraceful than the fear of corporal puniſhments.

2. By correcting children for ignorance and negligence in ſchool, their ideas of *improper* and *immoral* actions are confounded, and hence the moral faculty becomes weakened in after life. It would not be more cruel or abſurd to inflict the puniſhment of the whipping-poſt upon a man, for not dreſſing faſhionably or neatly, than it is to ferule a boy for blotting his copy book, or miſ-ſpelling a word.

3. If the natural affection of a parent is ſometimes inſufficient, to reſtrain the violent effects of a ſudden guſt of anger upon a child, how dangerous muſt the power of correcting children be when lodged in the hands of a ſchool-maſter, in whoſe anger there is no mixture of parental affection! Perhaps thoſe parents act moſt wiſely, who never truſt themſelves to inflict corporal puniſhments upon their children, after they are four or five years old, but endeavour to puniſh, and

reclaim them, by confinement, or by abridging them of ſome of their uſual gratifications, in dreſs, food or amuſements.

4. Injuries are ſometimes done to the bodies, and ſometimes to the intellects of children, by corporal puniſhments. I recollect, when a boy, to have loſt a ſchool-mate, who was ſaid to have died in conſequence of a ſevere whipping he received in ſchool. At that time I did not believe it poſſible, but from what I now know of the diſproportion between the violent emotions of the mind, and the ſtrength of the body in children, I am diſpoſed to believe, that not only ſickneſs, but that even *death* may be induced, by the convulſions of a youthful mind, worked up to a high ſenſe of ſhame and reſentment.

The effects of thumping the head, boxing the ears, and pulling the hair, in impairing the intellects, by means of injuries done to the brain, are too obvious to be mentioned.

5. Where there is *ſhame*, ſays Dr. Johnſon, there may be *virtue*. But corporal puniſhments, inflicted at ſchool, have a tendency to deſtroy the ſenſe of ſhame, and thereby to deſtroy all moral ſenſibility. The boy that has been often publicly whipped at ſchool, is under great obligations to his maker, and his parents, if he afterwards eſcape the whipping-poſt or the gallows.

6. Corporal puniſhments, inflicted at ſchool, tend to beget a ſpirit of violence in boys towards each other, which often follows them through life; but they more certainly beget a ſpirit of hatred, or revenge, towards their maſters, which too often becomes a ferment of the ſame baneful paſſions towards other people. The celebrated Dr. afterwards Baron Haller declared, that he never ſaw, without horror, during the remaining part of his life, a ſchool-maſter, who had treated him with unmerited ſeverity, when he was only ten years old. A ſimilar anecdote is related of the famous M. de Condamine. I think I have known ſeveral inſtances of this vindictive, or indignant ſpirit, to continue towards a cruel and tyrannical ſchool-maſter, in perſons who were advanced in life, and who were otherwiſe of gentle and forgiving diſpoſitions.

7. Corporal puniſhments, inflicted at ſchools, beget a hatred to inſtruction in young people. I have ſometimes ſuſpected that the Devil, who knows how great an enemy knowledge is to his kingdom, has had the addreſs to make the world believe that *ferruling*, *pulling* and *boxing ears*, *cudgelling*, *horſing*, &c. and, in boarding-ſchools, a *little ſtarving*, are all abſolutely neceſſary for the government of young people, on purpoſe that he might make both ſchools, and ſchool-maſters odious, and thereby keep our world in ignorance; for ignorance is the beſt means the Devil ever contrived, to keep up the number of his ſubjects in our world.

8. Corporal puniſhments are not only hurtful, but altogether unneceſſary, in ſchools. Some of the moſt celebrated and ſucceſful ſchool-maſters, that I have known, never made uſe of them.

9. The fear of corporal puniſhments, by debilitating the body, produces a correſponding debility in the mind, which contracts its capacity of acquiring knowledge. This capacity is enlarged by the tone which the mind acquires from the action of hope, love, and confidence upon it; and all theſe paſſions might eaſily be cheriſhed, by a prudent and enlightened ſchool-maſter.

10. As there ſhould always be a certain ratio between the ſtrength of a remedy, and the excitability of the body in diſeaſes, ſo there ſhould be a ſimilar ratio between the force employed in the government of a ſchool, and the capacites and tempers of children. A kind rebuke, like freſh air in a fainting fit, is calculated to act upon a young mind with more effect, than ſtimulants of the greateſt power; but corporal puniſhments level all capacities and tempers, as quack-medicines do, all conſtitutions and diſeaſes. They diſhonour and degrade our ſpecies; for they ſuppoſe a total abſence of all moral and intellectual feeling from the mind. Have we not often ſeen dull children ſuddenly improve, by changing their ſchools? The reaſon is obvious. The ſucceſful teacher only accommodated his manner and diſcipline to the capacities of his ſcholars.

11. I conceive corporal puniſhments, inflicted in an arbitrary manner, to be contrary to the ſpirit of liberty, and that they ſhould not be tolerated in a free government. Why ſhould not children be protected from violence and injuries, as well as white and black ſervants?—Had I influence enough in our legiſlature to obtain only a ſingle law, it ſhould be to make the puniſhment for ſtriking a ſchool boy, the ſame as for aſſaulting and beating an adult member of ſociety.

To all theſe arguments I know ſome well diſpoſed people will reply, that the *rod* has received a divine commiſſion from the ſacred Scriptures, as the inſtrument of correcting children. To this I anſwer that the *rod*, in the Old Teſtament, by a very common figure in Rhetoric, ſtands for puniſhments of *any* kind, juſt as the *ſword*, in the New Teſtament, ſtands for the faithful and general adminiſtration of juſtice, in ſuch a way as is moſt calculated to reform criminals, and to prevent crimes

The following method of governing a ſchool, I apprehend, would be attended with much better effects, than that which I have endeavoured to ſhew to be contrary to reaſon, humanity, religion, liberty, and the experience of the wiſeſt and beſt teachers in the world.

Let a ſchool-maſter endeavour, in the firſt place, to acquire the confidence of his ſcholars, by a prudent deportment. Let him learn to command his paſſions

and temper, at all times, in his ſchool,—Let him treat the name of the Supreme Being with reverence, as often as it occurs in books, or in converſation with his ſcholars.—Let him exact a reſpectful behaviour towards himſelf, in his ſchool; but in the intervals of ſchool hours, let him treat his ſcholars with gentleneſs and familiarity. If he ſhould even join in their amuſements, he would not looſe, by his condeſcenſion, any part of his authority over them. But to ſecure their affection and reſpect more perfectly, let him, once or twice a year, lay out a ſmall ſum of money in penknives, and books, and diſtribute them among his ſcholars, as rewards for proficiency in learning, and for good behaviour. If theſe prudent and popular meaſures ſhould fail of preventing offences at ſchool, then let the following modes of puniſhment be adopted.

1. *Private* admonition. By this mode of rebuking, we imitate the conduct of the divine Being towards his offending creatures, for his *firſt* puniſhment is always inflicted *privately*, by means of the *ſtill* voice of conſcience.

2. Confinement after ſchool-hours are ended; but with the knowledge of the parents of the children.

3. Holding a ſmall ſign of diſgrace, of any kind, in the middle of the floor, in the preſence of a whole ſchool.

If theſe puniſhments fail of reclaiming a bad boy, he ſhould be diſmiſſed from ſchool, to prevent his corrupting his ſchool-mates. It is the buſineſs of parents, and not of ſchool-maſters, to uſe the laſt means for eradicating idleneſs and vice from their children.

The world was created in love. It is ſuſtained by love. Nations and families that are happy, are made ſo only by love. Let us extend this divine principle, to thoſe little communities which we call ſchools. Children are capable of loving in a high degree. They may therefore be governed by love.

The occupation of a ſchool-maſter is truly dignified. He is, next to mothers, the moſt important member of civil ſociety. Why then is there ſo little rank connected with that occupation? Why do we treat it with ſo much neglect or contempt? It is becauſe the voice of reaſon, in the human heart, aſſociates with it the idea of deſpotiſm and violence. Let ſchool-maſters ceaſe to be tyrants, and they will ſoon enjoy the reſpect and rank, which are naturally connected with their profeſſion.

We are groſly miſtaken in looking up wholly to our governments, and even to miniſters of the goſpel, to promote public and private order in ſociety. Mothers and ſchool-maſters plant the ſeeds of nearly all the good and evil which exiſt in our world. Its reformation muſt therefore be begun in nurſeries and in ſchools. If the habits we acquire there, were to have no influence

upon our future happineſs, yet the influence they have upon our governments, is a ſufficient reaſon why we ought to introduce new modes, as well as new objects of education into our country.

You have lately been employed in an attempt to perpetuate our exiſtence as a free people, by eſtabliſhing the means of national credit and defence; * but theſe are feeble bulwarks againſt ſlavery, compared with habits of labour and virtue, diſſeminated among our young people. Let us eſtabliſh ſchools for this purpoſe, in every townſhip in the United States, and conform them to reaſon, humanity, and the preſent ſtate of ſociety in America. Then, Sir, will the generations who are to follow us, realize the precious ideas of the dignity and excellence of republican forms of government, which I well recollect you cheriſhed with ſo much ardor, in the beginning of the American revolution, and which you have manifeſted ever ſince, both by your public and private conduct.

We ſuffer ſo much from traditional error of various kinds, in education, morals, and government, that I have been led to wiſh, that it were poſſible for us to have ſchools eſtabliſhed, in the United States, for teaching *the art of forgetting*. I think three-fourths of all our ſchool-maſters, divines, and legiſlators would

* Mr. Clymer was one of the Repreſentatives of Pennſylvania, in the firſt Congreſs of the United States which met in New York, in the year 1789.

profit very much, by ſpending two or three years in ſuch uſeful inſtitutions.

An apology may ſeem neceſſary, not only for the length of this letter, but for ſome of the opinions contained in it. I know how apt mankind are to brand every propoſition for innovation, as viſionary and Utopian. But good men ſhould not be diſcouraged, by ſuch epithets, from their attempts to combat vice and error. There never was an improvement, in any art or ſcience, nor even a propoſal for meliorating the condition of man, in any age or country, that has not been conſidered in the light of what has been called, ſince Sir. Thomas More's time, an *Utopian ſcheme.* The application of the magnet to navigation, and of ſteam to mechanical purpoſes, have both been branded as Utopian projects. The great idea in the mind of Columbus, of exploring a new world, was long viewed, in moſt of the courts of Europe, as the dream of a viſionary ſailor. But why do we go to an cient times, for proofs of important innovations in human affairs having been treated as Utopian ſchemes. You and I recollect the time, when the abolition of negro ſlavery in our ſtate, as alſo when the independence of the United States, and the preſent wiſe and happy confederacy of our republics, were all conſidered by many of our ſober prudent men, as ſubjects of an Utopian nature.

If thoſe benefactors of mankind, who have levelled mountains in the great road of human life, by the diſcoveries or labours which have been mentioned, have beeen ſtigmatized with obloquy, as viſionary projectors, why ſhould an individual be afraid of ſimilar treatment, who has only attempted to give to that road, from its beginning, a ſtraight direction.

If but a dozen men like yourſelf, approve of my opinions, it will overbalance the moſt illiberal oppoſition they may meet with, from all the learned vulgar of the United States.

For the benefit of thoſe perſons who conſider opinions as improved, like certain liquors, by time; and who are oppoſed to innovations, only becauſe they did not occur to their anceſtors, I ſhall conclude my letter with an anecdote of a miniſter in London, who, after employing a long ſermon, in controverting what he ſuppoſed to be an heretical opinion, concluded it with the following words, "I tell you, I tell you my bre-"thren,—I tell you again,—that an old error is better "than a new truth."

With great regard I am,
Dear Sir,
Your's ſincerely,
BENJAMIN RUSH.

Philadelphia, Auguſt 20th, 1790.

P. S. Since writing the above letter, an ingenious German friend of mine has informed me, that a curious work has lately appeared in Germany, entitled, "A "treatiſe on human miſery," written by a Mr. Salzman, an enlightened ſchool-maſter, in which a ſtriking view is given of the miſery inflicted upon part of the human race, by the preſent abſurd, and cruel modes of conducting education in public ſchools. The author concludes this part of his work, my friend informs me, with a dream, in which he beholds with ineffable joy, the avenging angel deſcending from heaven, and afterwards conſuming in an immenſe bonfire, certain abſurd ſchool-books, and *all the ferrules* in the world.

THOUGHTS UPON FEMALE EDUCATION, ACCOMMODATED TO THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, MANNERS, AND GOVERNMENT, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. ADDRESSED TO THE VISITORS OF THE YOUNG LADIES' ACADEMY IN PHILADELPHIA, 28th JULY, 1787, AT THE CLOSE OF THE QUARTERLY EXAMINATION, AND AFTERWARDS PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE VISITORS.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE yielded with diffidence to the ſolicitations of the Principal of the Academy, in undertaking to expreſs my regard for the proſperity of this ſeminary of learning, by ſubmitting to your candor, a few Thoughts upon Female Education.

The firſt remark that I ſhall make upon this ſubject, is, that female education ſhould be accommodated to the ſtate of ſociety, manners, and government of the country, in which it is conducted.

This remark leads me at once to add, that the education of young ladies, in this country, ſhould be conducted upon principles very different from what it is in Great Britain, and in ſome reſpects, different from what it was when we were part of a monarchical empire.

There are ſeveral circumſtances in the ſituation, employments, and duties of women in America, which require a peculiar mode of education.

I. The early marriages of our women, by contracting the time allowed for education, renders it neceſſary to contract its plan, and to confine it chiefly to the more uſeful branches of literature.

II. The ſtate of property in America, renders it neceſſary for the greateſt part of our citizens to employ themſelves, in different occupations, for the advancement of their fortunes. This cannot be done without the aſſiſtance of the female members of the community. They muſt be the ſtewards, and guardians of their huſbands' property. That education, therefore, will be moſt proper for our women, which teaches them to diſcharge the duties of thoſe offices with the moſt ſucceſs and reputation.

III. From the numerous avocations from their families, to which profeſſional life expoſes gentlemen in America, a principal ſhare of the inſtruction of children naturally devolves upon the women. It becomes us therefore to prepare them by a ſuitable education, for the diſcharge of this moſt important duty of mothers.

IV. The equal ſhare that every citizen has in the liberty, and the poſſible ſhare he may have in the government of our country, make it neceſſary that our ladies ſhould be qualified to a certain degree by a pecu-

liar and ſuitable education, to concur in inſtructing their ſons in the principles of liberty and government.

V. In Great Britain the buſineſs of ſervants is a regular occupation; but in America this humble ſtation is the uſual retreat of unexpected indigence; hence the ſervants in this country poſſeſs leſs knowledge and ſubordination than are required from them; and hence, our ladies are obliged to attend more to the private affairs of their families, than ladies generally do, of the ſame rank in Great Britain. "They are good ſervants," ſaid an American lady of diſtinguiſhed merit, * in a letter to a favorite daughter, § "who will do well with "good looking after." This circumſtance ſhould have great influence upon the nature and extent of female education in America.

The branches of literature moſt eſſential for a young lady in this country, appear to be,

I. A knowledge of the Engliſh language. She ſhould not only read, but ſpeak and ſpell it correctly. And to enable her to do this, ſhe ſhould be taught the Engliſh grammar, and be frequently examined in applying its rules in common converſation.

II. Pleaſure and intereſt conſpire to make the writing of a fair and legible hand, a neceſſary branch of a lady's education. For this purpoſe ſhe ſhould be

* Mrs. Græme.

§ Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguſon.

taught not only to ſhape every letter properly, but to pay the ſtricteſt regard to points and capitals.*

I once heard of a man who profeſſed to diſcover the temper and diſpoſition of perſons by looking at their hand writing. Without enquiring into the probability of this ſtory, I ſhall only remark, that there is one thing in which all mankind agree upon this ſubject, and that is, in conſidering writing that is blotted, crooked, or illegible, as a mark of vulgar education. I know of few things more rude or illiberal, than to obtrude a letter upon a perſon of rank or buſineſs, which cannot be eaſily read. Peculiar care ſhould be taken to avoid every kind of ambiguity and affectation in writing *names*. I have now a letter in my poſſeſſion upon buſineſs, from a gentleman of a liberal profeſſion in a neighbouring ſtate, which I am unable to anſwer, becauſe I cannot diſcover the name which is ſubſcribed to it. † For obvious reaſons I would recom-

* The preſent mode of writing among perſons of taſte is to uſe a capital letter only for the firſt word of a ſentence, and for names of perſons, places and months, and for the firſt word of every line in poetry. The words ſhould be ſo ſhaped that a ſtraight line may be drawn between two lines, without touching the extremities of the words in either of them.

† Dr. Franklin received many letters while he was in France during the American war, from perſons who wiſhed to migrate to America, and who appeared to poſſeſs knowledge and talents that would have been uſeful to his country, but their names were ſubſcribed to their letters in ſo artificial and affected a manner, that he was unable to decypher them, and of courſe, did not anſwer them.

mend the writing of the firſt or chriſtian name at full length, where it does not conſiſt of more than two ſyllables. Abbreviations of all kind in letter writing, which always denote either haſte or carleſſneſs, ſhould likewiſe be avoided. I have only to add under this head that the Italian and inverted hands which are read with difficulty, are by no means accommodated to the active ſtate of buſineſs in America, or to the ſimplicity of the citizens of a republic.

III. Some knowledge of figures and book-keeping is abſolutely neceſſary to qualify a young lady for the duties which await her in this country. There are certain occupations in which ſhe may aſſiſt her huſband with this knowledge; and ſhould ſhe ſurvive him, and agreeably to the cuſtom of our country be the executrix of his will, ſhe cannot fail of deriving immenſe advantages from it.

IV. An acquaintance with geography and ſome inſtruction in chronology will enable a young lady to read hiſtory, biography, and travels, with advantage; and thereby qualify her not only for a general intercourſe with the world, but to be an agreeable companion for a ſenſible man. To theſe branches of knowledge may be added, in ſome inſtances, a general acquaintance with the firſt principles of aſtronomy natural philoſophy and chemiſtry, particularly, with ſuch parts of them as are calculated to prevent ſuperſtition, by explaining the cauſes, or obviating the effects of

of natural evil, and ſuch, as are capable of being applied to domeſtic, and culinary purpoſes.

V. Vocal muſic ſhould never be neglected, in the education of a young lady, in this country. Beſides preparing her to join in that part of public worſhip which conſiſts in pſalmody, it will enable her to ſoothe the cares of domeſtic life. The diſtreſs and vexation of a huſband—the noiſe of a nurſey, and, even, the the ſorrows that will ſometimes intrude into her own boſom, may all be relieved by a ſong, where ſound and ſentiment unite to act upon the mind. I hope it will not be thought foreign to this part of our ſubject to introduce a fact here which has been ſuggeſted to me by my profeſſion, and that is, that the exerciſe of the organs of the breaſt, by ſinging, contributes very much to defend them from thoſe diſeaſes to which our climate, and other cauſes, have of late expoſed them.—Our German fellow citizens are ſeldom afflicted with conſumptions, nor have I ever known but one inſtance of ſpitting of blood among them. This, I believe, is in part occaſioned by the ſtrength which their lungs acquire, by exerciſing them frequently in vocal muſic, for this conſtitutes an eſſential branch of their education. The muſic-maſter of our academy‡ has furniſhed me with an obſervation ſtill more in favour of this opinion. He informed me that he had known ſeveral inſtances of perſons who were ſtrongly diſpoſed to the conſumption, who were reſtored to health, by the moderate exercite of their lungs in ſinging.

‡ Mr. Adgate.

VI. DANCING is by no means an improper branch of education for an American lady. It promotes health, and renders the figure and motions of the body eaſy and agreeable. I anticipate the time when the reſources of converſation ſhall be ſo far multiplied, that the amuſement of dancing ſhall be wholly confined to children. But in our preſent ſtate of ſociety and knowledge, I conceive it to be an agreeable ſubſtitute for the ignoble pleaſures of drinking, and gaming, in our aſſemblies of grown people.

VII. The attention of our young ladies ſhould be directed, as ſoon as they are prepared for it, to the reading of hiſtory—travels—poetry—and moral eſſays. Theſe ſtudies are accommodated, in a peculiar manner, to the preſent ſtate of ſociety in America, and when a reliſh is excited for them, in early life, they ſubdue that paſſion for reading novels, which ſo generally prevails among the fair ſex. I cannot diſmiſs this ſpecies of writing and reading without obſerving, that the ſubjects of novels are by no means accommodated to our preſent manners. They hold up *life*, it is true, but it is not as yet *life* in America. Our paſſions have not as yet "overſtepped the modeſty of nature." nor are they "torn to tatters," to uſe the expreſſions of the poet, by extravagant love, jealouſy, ambition, or revenge. As yet the intrigues of a Britiſh novel, are as foreign to our manners, as the refinements of Aſiatic vice. Let it not be ſaid, that the tales of diſ-

treſs, which fill modern novels, have a tendency to ſoften the female heart into acts of humanity. The fact is the reverſe of this. The abortive ſympathy which is excited by the recital of imaginary diſtreſs, blunts the heart to that which is real; and, hence, we ſometimes ſee inſtances of young ladies, who weep away a whole forenoon over the criminal ſorrows of a fictitious Charlotte or Werter, turning with diſdain at three o'clock from the ſight of a beggar, who ſolicits in feeble accents or ſigns, a ſmall portion only of the crumbs which fall from their fathers' tables.

VIII. It will be neceſſary to connect all theſe branches of education with regular inſtruction in the chriſtian religion. For this purpoſe the principles of the different ſects of chriſtians ſhould be taught and explained, and our pupils ſhould early be furniſhed with ſome of the moſt ſimple arguments in favour of the truth of chriſtianity*. A portion of the bible (of late improperly baniſhed from our ſchools) ſhould be read by them every day, and ſuch queſtions ſhould be aſked, after reading it as are calculated to imprint upon their minds the intereſting ſtories contained in it.

Rouſſeau has aſſerted that the great ſecret of education conſiſts in "waſting the time of children pro-

* Baron Haller's letters to his daughter on the truths of the chriſtian religion, and Dr. Beatie's "evidences of the chriſtian religion briefly and plainly ſtated" are excellent little tracts, and well adapted for this purpoſe.

ſitably." There is ſome truth in this obſervation. I believe that we often impair their health, and weaken their capcities, by impoſing ſtudies upon them, which are not proportioned to their years. But this objection does not apply to religious inſtruction. There are certain ſimple propoſitions in the chriſtian religion, which are ſuited in a peculiar manner, to the infant ſtate of reaſon and moral ſenſibility. A clergyman of long experience in the inſtruction of youth † informed me, that he always found children acquired religious knowledge more eaſily than knowledge upon other ſubjects; and that young girls acquired this kind of knowledge more readily than boys. The female breaſt is the natural ſoil of chriſtianity; and while our women are taught to believe its doctrines, and obey its precepts, the wit of Voltaire, and the ſtile of Bolingbroke, will never be able to deſtroy its influence upon our citizens.

I cannot help remarking in this place, that chriſtianity exerts the moſt friendly influence upon ſcience, as well as upon the morals and manners of mankind. Whether this be occaſioned by the unity of truth, and the mutual aſſiſtance which truths upon different ſubjects afford each other, or whether the faculties of the mind be ſharpened and corrected by embracing the truths of revelation, and thereby prepared to inveſtigate and perceive truths upon other ſubjects, I

† The Rev. Mr. NICHOLAS COLLIN, miniſter of the Swediſh church in Wicocoa.

will not determine, but I believe that the greateſt diſcoveries in ſcience have been made by chriſtian philoſophers, and that there is the moſt knowledge in thoſe countries where there is the moſt chriſtianity.* If this remark be well founded, then thoſe philoſophers who reject chriſtianity, and thoſe chriſtians, whether parents or ſchool-maſters, who neglect the religious inſtruction of their children and pupils, *reject* and *neglect* the moſt effectual means of promoting knowledge in our country.

IX. If the meaſures that have been recommended for inſpiring our pupils with a ſenſe of religious and moral obligation be adopted, the government of them will be eaſy and agreeable. I ſhall only remark under this head, that *ſtrictneſs* of diſcipline will always render *ſeverity* unneceſſary, and that there will be the moſt inſtruction in that ſchool, where there is the moſt order.

I have ſaid nothing in favour of inſtrumental muſic as a branch of female education, becauſe I conceive

* This is true in a peculiar manner in the ſcience of medecine. A young Scotch phyſician of enterprizing talents, who conceived a high idea of the ſtate of medecine in the eaſtern countries, ſpent two years in enquiries after medical knowledge in Conſtantinople, and Grand Cairo. On his return to Britain he confeſſed to an American phyſician whom he met at Naples, that after all his reſearches and travels, he "had diſcovered "nothing except a ſingle fact relative to the plague, that he thought "worth remembering or communicating." The ſcience of medecine in China according to the accounts of De Halde is in as imperfect a ſtate as among the Indians of North America.

it is by no means accommodated to the preſent ſtate of ſociety and manners in America. The price of muſical inſtruments, and the extravagant fees demanded by the teachers of inſtrumental muſic, form but a ſmall part of my objections to it.

To perform well, upon a muſical inſtrument, requires much time and long practice. From two to four hours in a day, for three or four years appropriated to muſic, are an immenſe deduction from that ſhort period of time which is allowed by the peculiar circumſtances of our country for the acquiſition of the uſeful branches of literature that have been mentioned. How many uſeful ideas might be picked up in theſe hours from hiſtory, philoſophy, poetry, and the numerous moral eſſays with which our language abounds, and how much more would the knowledge acquired upon theſe ſubjects add to the conſequence of a lady, with her huſband and with ſociety, than the beſt performed pieces of muſic upon a harpſicord or a guittar! Of the many ladies whom we have known, who have ſpent the moſt important years of their lives, in learning to play upon inſtruments of muſic, how few of them do we ſee amuſe themſelves or their friends with them, after they become miſtreſſes of families! Their harpſichords ſerve only as ſide-boards for their parlours, and prove by their ſilence, that neceſſity and circumſtances, will always prevail over faſhion, and falſe maxims of education.

Let it not be ſuppoſed from theſe obſervations that I am inſenſible of the charms of inſtrumental muſic, or that I wiſh to exclude it from the education of a lady where a muſical ear irreſiſtably diſpoſes to it, and affluence at the ſame time affords a proſpect of ſuch an exemption from the uſual cares and duties of the miſtreſs of a family, as will enable her to practiſe it. Theſe circumſtances form an exception to the general conduct that ſhould ariſe upon this ſubject, from the preſent ſtate of ſociety and manners in America.

It is agreeable to obſerve how differently modern writers, and the inſpired author of the Proverbs, deſcribe a fine woman. The former confine their praiſes chiefly to perſonal charms, and ornamental accompliſhments, while the latter celebrates only the virtues of a valuable miſtreſs of a family, and a uſeful member of ſociety. The one is perfectly acquainted with all the faſhionable languages of Europe; the other, "opens her mouth with wiſdom" and is perfectly acquainted with all the uſes of the needle, the diſtaff, and the loom. The buſineſs of the one, is pleaſure; the pleaſure of the other, is buſineſs. The one is admired abroad; the other is honoured and beloved at home. "Her children ariſe up and "call her bleſſed, her huſband alſo, and he praiſeth her." There is no fame in the world equal to this; nor is there a note in muſic half ſo delightful, as the reſpectful language with which a grateful ſon or daughter

perpetuates the memory of a ſenſible and affectionate mother.

It ſhould not ſurprize us that Britiſh cuſtoms, with reſpect to female education, have been tranſplanted into our American ſchools and families. We ſee marks of the ſame incongruity, of time and place, in many other things. We behold our houſes accomodated to the climate of Great Britain, by eaſtern and weſtern directions. We behold our ladies panting in a heat of ninety degrees, under a hat and cuſhion, which were calculated for the temperature of a Britiſh ſummer. We behold our citizens condemned and puniſhed by a criminal law, which was copied from a country, where maturity in corruption renders public executions a part of the amuſements of the nation. It is high time to awake from this ſervility—to ſtudy our own character—to examine the age of our country—and to adopt manners in every thing, that ſhall be accomodated to our ſtate of ſociety, and to the forms of our government. In particular it is incumbent upon us to make ornamental accompliſhments yield to principles and knowledge, in the education of our women.

A philoſopher once ſaid "let me make all the ballads of a country and I care not who makes its laws." He might with more propriety have ſaid, let the ladies of a country be educated properly, and they will not only make and adminiſter its laws, but form its manners and character. It would require a lively imaginaiton to deſcribe, or even to comprehend, the

happineſs of a country, where knowledge and virtue, were generally diffuſed among the female ſex. Our young men would then be reſtrained from vice by the terror of being baniſhed from their company. The loud laugh, and the malignant ſmile, at the expence of innocence, or of perſonal infirmities—the feats of ſucceſsful mimickry—and the low priced wit, which is borrowed from a miſapplication of ſcripture phraſes, would no more be conſidered as recommendations to the ſociety of the ladies. A double entendre in their preſence, would then exclude a gentleman forever from the company of both ſexes, and probably oblige him to ſeek an aſylum from contempt, in a foreign country. The influence of female education would be ſtill more extenſive and uſeful in domeſtic life. The obligations of gentlemen to qualify themſelves by knowledge and induſtry to diſcharge the duties of benevolence, would be encreaſed by marriage; and the patriot—the hero—and the legiſlator, would find the ſweeteſt reward of their toils, in the approbation and applauſe of their wives. Children would diſcover the marks of maternal prudence and wiſdom in every ſtation of life; for it has been remarked that there have been few great or good men who have not been bleſſed with wiſe and prudent mothers. Cyrus was taught to revere the gods, by his mother Mandane —Samuel was devoted to his prophetic office before he was born, by his mother Hannah—Conſtantine was reſcued from paganiſm by his mother Conſtantia—and Edward the ſixth inherited thoſe great and excellent

qualities which made him the delight of the age in which he lived, from his mother, lady Jane Seymour. Many other inſtances might be mentioned, if neceſſary, from ancient and modern hiſtory, to eſtabliſh the truth of this propoſition.

I am not enthuſiaſtical upon the ſubject of education. In the ordinary courſe of human affairs, we ſhall probably too ſoon follow the footſteps of the nations of Europe in manners and vices. The firſt marks we ſhall perceive of our declenſion, will appear among our women. Their idleneſs, ignorance, and profligacy will be the harbingers of our ruin. Then will the character and performance of a buffoon on the theatre, be the ſubject of more converſation and praiſe, than the patriot or the miniſter of the goſpel;—then will our language and pronunciation be enfeebled and corrupted by a flood of French and Italian words;—then will the hiſtory of romantic amours, be preferred to the pure and immortal writings of Addiſon, Hawkeſworth and Johnſon;—then will our churches be neglected, and the name of the ſupreme being never be called upon, but in profane exclamations;—then will our Sundays be appropriated, only to feaſts and concerts?—and then will begin all that train of domeſtic and political calamities——But, I forbear. The proſpect is ſo painful, that I cannot help, ſilently, imploring the great arbiter of human, affairs, to interpoſe his almighty goodneſs, and to de-

liver us from theſe evils, that, at leaſt one ſpot of the earth may be reſerved as a monument of the effects of good education, in order to ſhew in ſome degree, what our ſpecies was, before the fall, and what it ſhall be, after its reſtoration.

Thus, gentlemen, have I briefly finiſhed what I propoſed. If I am wrong in thoſe opinions in which I have taken the liberty of departing from general and faſhonable habits of thinking, I am ſure you will diſcover, and pardon my miſtakes. But if I am right, I am equally ſure you will adopt my opinions; for to enlightened minds truth is alike acceptable, whether it comes from the lips of age, or the hand of antiquity, or whether it be obtruded by a perſon, who has no other claim to attention, than a deſire of adding to the ſtock of human happineſs

I cannot diſmiſs the ſubject of female education without remarking, that the city of Philadelphia firſt ſaw a number of gentlemen aſſociated for the purpoſe of directing the education of young ladies. By means of this plan, the power of teachers is regulated and reſtrained, and the objects of education are extended. By the ſeparation of the ſexes in the unformed ſtate of their manners, female delicacy is cheriſhed and preſerved. Here the young ladies may enjoy all the literary advantages of a boarding-ſchool, and at the ſame time live under the protection of their pa-

rents*. Here emulation may be excited without jealouſy,—ambition without envy,—and competition without ſtrife. The attempt to eſtabliſh this new mode of education for young ladies, was an experiment, and the ſucceſs of it hath anſwered our expectations. Too much praiſe cannot be given to our principal ‡ and his aſſiſtants, for the abilities and fidelity with which they have carried the plan into execution. The proficiency which the young ladies have diſcovered in reading—writing—ſpelling—arithmetic—grammar—geography—muſic—and their different catechiſms, ſince the laſt examination, is a leſs equivocal mark of the merit of our teachers, than any thing I am able to expreſs in their favour.

But the reputation of the academy muſt be ſuſpended, till the public are convinced, by the future conduct and character of our pupils, of the advantages of the inſtitution. To you, therefore, YOUNG LADIES, an important problem is committed for ſolution; and that is, whether our preſent plan of education be a wiſe one, and whether it be calculated to prepare you for the duties of ſocial and domeſtic life. I know that the elevation of the female mind, by means of moral,

* "Unnatural confinement makes a young woman embrace with avi-
" dity every pleaſure when ſhe is ſet free. To reliſh domeſtic life, one
" muſt be acquainted with it; for it is in the houſe of her parents a young
" woman acquires the reliſh." Lord Kaims's thoughts upon education, and the culture of the heart.

‡ Andrew Brown.

phyſical and religious truth, is conſidered by ſome men as unfriendly to the domeſtic character of a woman. But this is the prejudice of little minds, and ſprings from the ſame ſpirit which oppoſes the general diffuſion of knowledge among the citizens of our republics. If men believe that ignorance is favourable to the government of the female ſex, they are certainly deceived; for a weak and ignorant woman will always be governed with the greateſt difficulty. I have ſometimes been led to aſcribe the invention of ridiculous and expenſive faſhions in female dreſs, entirely to the gentlemen*, in order to divert the ladies from improving their minds, and thereby to ſecure a more arbitrary and unlimited authority over them. It will be in your power, LADIES, to correct the miſtakes and practice of our ſex upon theſe ſubjects, by demonſtrating, that the female temper can only be governed by reaſon, and that the cultivation of reaſon in women, is alike friendly to the order of nature, and to private as well as public happinſs.

* The very expenſive prints of female dreſſes which are published annually in France, are invented and executed wholly by GENTLEMEN.

A DEFENCE OF THE USE OF THE BIBLE AS A SCHOOL BOOK. ADDRESSED TO THE REV. JEREMY BELKNAP, OF BOSTON.

DEAR SIR,

IT is now ſeveral months, ſince I promiſed to give you my reaſons for preferring the bible as a ſchool book, to all other compoſitions. I ſhall not trouble you with an apology for my delaying ſo long to comply with my promiſe, but ſhall proceed immediately to the ſubject of my letter.

Before I ſtate my arguments in favour of teaching children to read by means of the bible, I ſhall aſſume the five following propoſitions.

I. That chriſtianity is the only true and perfect religion, and that in proportion as mankind adopt its principles, and obey its precepts, they will be wiſe, and happy.

II. That a better knowledge of this religion is to be acquired by reading the bible, than in any other way.

III That the bible contains more knowledge neceſſary to man in his preſent ſtate, than any other book in the world.

IV. That knowledge is moſt durable, and religious inſtruction moſt uſeful, when imparted in early life,

V. That the bible, when not read in ſchools, is ſeldom read in any ſubſequent period of life.

My arguments in favor of the uſe of the bible as a ſchool book are founded, I. In the conſtitution of the human mind.

1. The memory is the firſt faculty which opens in the minds of children. Of how much conſequence, then, muſt it be, to impreſs it with the great truths of chriſtianity, before it is pre-occupied with leſs intereſting ſubjects! As all the liquors, which are poured into a cup, generally taſte of that which firſt filled it, ſo all the knowledge, which is added to that which is treaſured up in the memory from the bible, generally receives an agreeable and uſeful tincture from it.

2. There is a peculiar aptitude in the minds of children for religious knowledge. I have conſtantly found them in the firſt ſix or ſeven years of their lives, more inquiſitive upon religious ſubjects, than upon any others: and an ingenious inſtructor of youth has informed me, that he has found young children more capable of receiving juſt ideas upon the moſt difficult tenets of religion, than upon the moſt ſimple branches of human knowledge. It would be ſtrange if it were otherwiſe; for God creates all his means to ſuit all his ends. There muſt of courſe be a fitneſs between the

human mind, and the truths which are eſſential to its happineſs.

3. The influence of *prejudice* is derived from the impreſſions, which are made upon the mind in early life; prejudices are of two kinds, true and falſe. In a world where *falſe* prejudices do ſo much miſchief, it would diſcover great weakneſs not to oppoſe them, by ſuch as are *true*.

I grant that many men have rejected the prejudices derived from the bible: but I believe no man ever did ſo, without having been made *wiſer* or *better*, by the early operation of theſe prejudices upon his mind. Every juſt principle that is to be found in the writings of Voltaire, is borrowed from the Bible: and the morality of the Deiſts, which has been ſo much admired and praiſed, is, I believe, in moſt caſes, the effect of habits, produced by early inſtruction in the principles of chriſtianity.

4. We are ſubject, by a general law in our natures, to what is called *habit*. Now if the ſtudy of the ſcriptures be neceſſary to our happineſs at any time of our lives, the ſooner we begin to read them, the more we ſhall be attached to them; for it is peculiar to all the acts of habit, to become eaſy, ſtrong and agreeable by repetition.

5. It is a law in our natures, that we remember *longeſt* the knowledge we acquire by the greateſt number

of our ſenſes. Now a knowledge of the contents of the bible, is acquired in ſchool by the aid of the *eyes* and the *ears*; for children after getting their leſſons, always ſay them to their maſters in an audible voice; of courſe there is a preſumption, that this knowledge will be retained much longer than if it had been acquired in any other way.

6. The intereſting events and characters, recorded and deſcribed in the Old and New Teſtaments, are accomodated above all others to ſeize upon all the faculties of the minds of children. The underſtanding, the memory, the imagination, the paſſions, and the moral powers, are all occaſionally addreſſed by the various incidents which are contained in thoſe divine books, inſomuch that not to be delighted with them, is to be devoid of every principle of pleaſure that exiſts in a ſound mind.

7. There is a native love of *truth* in the human mind. Lord Shafteſbury ſays, that "truth is ſo con-"genial to our minds, that we love even the *ſhadow* "of it:" and Horace, in his rules for compoſing an epick poem, eſtabliſhes the ſame law in our natures, by adviſing the "fictions in poetry to reſemble truth." Now the bible contains more truths than any other book in the world: ſo true is the teſtimony that it bears of God in his works of creation, providence, and redemption, that it is called *truth* itſelf, by way of pre-eminence above things that are only ſimply true. How

forcibly are we ſtruck with the evidences of truth, in the hiſtory of the Jews, above what we diſcover in the hiſtory of other nations? Where do we find a hero, or an hiſtorian record his own faults or vices except in the Old Teſtament? Indeed, my friend, from ſome accounts which I have read of the American revolution, I begin to grow ſceptical to all hiſtory except to that which is contained in the bible. Now if this book be known to contain nothing but what is materially true, the mind will naturally acquire a love for it from this circumſtance: and from this affection for the truths of of the bible, it will acquire a diſcernment of truth in other books, and a preference of it in all the tranſactions of life.

VIII. There is a wonderful property in the *memory*, which enables it in old age, to *recover* the knowledge it had acquired in early life, after it had been apparently forgotten for forty or fifty years. Of how much conſequence, then, muſt it be, to fill the mind with that ſpecies of knowledge, in childhood and youth, which, when *recalled* in the decline of life, will ſupport the ſoul under the infirmities of age, and ſmooth the avenues of approaching death? The bible is the only book which is capable of affording this ſupport to old age; and it is for this reaſon that we find it reſorted to with ſo much diligence and pleaſure by ſuch old people as have read it in early life. I can recollect many inſtances of this kind in perſons who diſcovered

no attachment to the bible, in the meridian of their lives, who have notwithſtanding, ſpent the evening of them, in reading no other book. The late Sir John Pringle, Phyſician to the Queen of Great Britain, after paſſing a long life in camps and at court, cloſed it by ſtudying the ſcriptures. So anxious was he to increaſe his knowledge in them, that he wrote to Dr. Michaelis, a learned profeſſer of divinity in Germany, for an explanation of a difficult text of ſcripture, a ſhort time before his death.

IX. My ſecond argument in favour of the uſe of the bible in ſchools, is founded upon an implied command of God, and upon the practice of ſeveral of the wiſeſt nations of the world.—In the 6th chapter of Deuteronomy, we find the following words, which are directly to my purpoſe, "And thou ſhalt love the "Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy "ſoul, and with all thy might. And theſe words "which I command thee this day ſhall be in thine "heart. And thou *ſhalt teach them diligently unto thy* "*children*, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in "thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, "and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt "up."

It appears, moreover, from the hiſtory of the Jews, that they flouriſhed as a nation, in proportion as they honoured and read the books of Moſes, which contained, a written revelation of the will of God, to the chil-

dren of men. The law was not only neglected, but loſt during the general profligacy of manners which accompanied the long and wicked reign of Manaſſah. But the diſcovery of it, in the rubbiſh of the temple, by Joſiah, and its ſubſequent general uſe, were followed by a return of national virtue and proſperity. We read further, of the wonderful effects which the reading of the law by Ezra, after his return from his captiviy in Babylon, had upon the Jews. They hung upon his lips with tears, and ſhowed the ſincerity of their repentance, by their general reformation.

The learning of the Jews, for many years conſiſted in nothing but a knowledge of the ſcriptures. Theſe were the text books of all the inſtruction that was given in the ſchools of their prophets. It was by means of this general knowledge of their law, that thoſe Jews that wandered from Judea into our countries, carried with them and propagated certain ideas of the true God among all the civilized nations upon the face of the earth. And it was from the attachment they retained to the old Teſtament, that they procured a tranſlation of it into the Greek language, after they loſt the Hebrew tongue, by their long abſence from their native country. The utility of this tranſlation, commonly called the ſeptuagint, in facilitating the progreſs of the goſpel, is well known to all who are acquainted with the hiſtory of the firſt age of the chriſtian church.

But the benefits of an early and general acquaintance with the bible, were not confined only to the Jewiſh nations. They have appeared in many countries in Europe, ſince the reformation. The induſtry, and habits of order, which diſtinguiſh many of the German nations, are derived from their early inſtruction in the principles of chriſtianity, by means of the bible. The moral and enlightened character of the inhabitants of Scotland, and of the New England States, appears to be derived from the ſame cauſe. If we deſcend from nations to ſects, we ſhall find them wiſe and proſperous in proportion as they become early acquainted with the ſcriptures. The bible is ſtill uſed as a ſchool book among the quakers. The morality of this ſect of chriſtians is univerſally acknowledged. Nor is this all, —their prudence in the management of their private affairs, is as much a mark of their ſociety, as their ſober manners.

I wiſh to be excuſed for repeating here, that if the bible did not convey a ſingle direction for the attainment of future happineſs, it ſhould be read in our ſchools in preference to all other books, from its containing the greateſt portion of that kind of knowledge which is calculated to produce private and publick temporal happineſs.

We err not only in human affairs, but in religion likewiſe, *only* becauſe "we do not know the ſcriptures." The oppoſite ſyſtems of the numerous ſects of chriſtians

ariſe chiefly from their being more inſtructed in catechiſms, creeds, and confeſſions of faith, than in the ſcriptures. Immenſe truths, I believe, are concealed in them. The time, I have no doubt, will come, when poſterity will view and pity our ignorance of theſe truths, as much as we do the ignorance of the diſciples of our Saviour, who knew nothing of the meaning of thoſe plain paſſages in the old teſtament which were daily fulfilling before their eyes. Whenever that time ſhall arrive, thoſe truths which have eſcaped our notice, or, if diſcovered, have been thought to be oppoſed to each other, or to be inconſiſtent with themſelves, will then like the ſtones of Solomon's temple, be found ſo exactly to accord with each other, that they ſhall be cemented without noiſe or force, into one ſimple and ſublime ſyſtem of religion.

But further, we err, not only in religion but in philoſophy likewiſe, becauſe we "do not know or *believe* "the ſcriptures." The ſciences have been compared to a circle of which religion compoſes a part. To underſtand any one of them perfectly it is neceſſary to have ſome knowledge of them all. Bacon, Boyle, and Newton included the ſcriptures in the inquiries to which their univerſal geniuſes diſpoſed them, and their philoſophy was aided by their knowledge in them. A ſtriking agreement has been lately diſcovered between the hiſtory of certain events recorded in the bible and ſome of the operations and productions of nature, particularly thoſe which are related in Whitehurſt's obſervations on the

deluge— in Smith's account of the origin of the variety of colour in the human ſpecies, and in Bruce's travels. It remains yet to be ſhown how many other events, related in the bible, accord with ſome late important diſcoveries in the principles of medecine. The events, and the principles alluded to, mutually eſtabliſh the truth of each other. From the diſcoveries of the chriſtian philoſophers, whoſe names have been laſt mentioned, I have been led to queſtion whether moſt harm has been done to revelation, by thoſe divines who have unduly multiplied the objects of faith, or by thoſe deiſts who have unduly multiplied the objects of reaſon, in explaining the ſcriptures.

I ſhall now proceed to anſwer ſome of the objections which have been made to the uſe of the bible as a ſchool book.

I. We are told, that the familiar uſe of the bible in our ſchools, has a tendency to leſſen a due reverence for it. This objection, by proving too much, proves nothing at all. If familiarity leſſens reſpect for divine things, then all thoſe precepts of our religion, which enjoin the daily or weekly worſhip of the Deity, are improper. The bible was not intended to repreſent a Jewiſh ark; and it is an antichriſtian idea, to ſuppoſe that it can be profaned, by being carried into a ſchool houſe, or by being handled by children. But where will the bible be read by young people with more reverence than in a ſchool? Not in moſt private families; for I believe there are few parents, who pre-

ſerve ſo much order in their houſes, as is kept up in our common Engliſh ſchools.

II. We are told, that there are many paſſages in the old teſtament, that are improper to be read by children, and that the greateſt part of it is no way intereſting to mankind under the preſent diſpenſation of the goſpel. There are I grant, ſeveral chapters, and many verſes in the old teſtament, which in their preſent unfortunate tranſlation, ſhould be paſſed over by children. But I deny that any of the books of the old teſtament are not intereſting to mankind, under the goſpel diſpenſation. Moſt of the characters, events, and ceremonies, mentioned in them, are perſonal, providential, or inſtituted types of the Meſſiah: All of which have been, or remain yet to be, fulfilled by him. It is from an ignorance or neglect of theſe types, that we have ſo many deiſts in chriſtendom; for ſo irrefragably do they prove the truth of chriſtianity, that I am ſure a young man who had been regularly inſtructed in their meaning, could never doubt afterwards of the truth of any of its principles. If any obſcurity appears in theſe principles, it is only (to uſe the words of the poet) becauſe *they are dark, with exceſſive bright.*

I know there is an objection among many People to teach children doctrines of any kind, becauſe they are liable to be controverted. But where will this objection lead us?— The being of a God, and the obligations of morality, have both been

controverted; and yet who has objected to our teaching theſe doctrines to our chilldren?

The curioſity and capacities of young people for the myſteries of religion, awaken much ſooner than is generally ſuppoſed. Of this we have two remarkable proofs in the old teſtament. The firſt is mentioned in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. "And it ſhall come when your *children* ſhall ſay unto you, "*What mean you by this ſervice?*" that ye ſhall ſay, "It is the ſacra- "fice of the Lord's paſſover, who paſſed over the houſes "of the children of Iſrael in Egypt, when he ſmote the "Egyptians, and delivered our houſes. And the chil- "dren of Iſrael went away, and did as the Lord had "commanded Moſes and Aaron." A ſecond proof of the deſire of children to be inſtructed in the myſteries of religion, is to be found in the ſixth chapter of Deuteronomy. "And when thy ſon *aſketh* thee in the time to come ſaying, "What mean the teſtimonies—and the "ſtatutes—and the judgments which the Lord our God "hath commanded you?" Then thou ſhalt ſay unto thy ſon, "We were Pharoah's bondmen in Egypt, and "the Lord our God brought us out of Egypt with a "mighty hand." Theſe enquiries from the mouths of children are perfectly natural; for where is the parent who has not had ſimilar queſtions propoſed to him by his children upon their being ~~being~~ firſt conducted to a place of worſhip, or upon their beholding, for the firſt time, either of the ſacraments of our religion?

Let us not not be wiſer than our Maker. If moral preccpts alone could have reformed mankind, the miſſion of the Son of God into our world, would have been unneceſſary. He came to promulgate a ſyſtem of *doctrines*, as well as a ſyſtem of morals. The perfect morality of the goſpel reſts upon a *doctrine*, which, though often controverted, has never been refuted, I mean the vicarious life and death of the Son of God. This ſublime and ineffable doctrine delivers us from the abſurd hypotheſes of modern philoſophers, concerning the foundation of moral obligation, and fixes it upon the eternal and ſelf moving principle of LOVE. It concentrates a whole ſyſtem of ethics in a ſingle text of ſcripture. "*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you.*" By witholding the knowledge of this doctrine from children, we deprive ourſelves of the beſt means of awakening moral ſenſibility in their minds. We do more, we furniſh an argument, for witholding from them a knowledge of the morality of the goſpel likewiſe; for this, in many inſtances, is as ſupernatural, and therefore as liable to be controverted, as any of the doctrines or miracles which are mentioned in the new teſtament. The miraculous conception of the ſaviour of the world by a virgin, is not more oppoſed to the ordinary courſe of natural events, nor is the doctrine of the atonement more above human reaſon, than thoſe moral precepts, which command us to love our enemies, or to die for our friends.

III. It has been ſaid, that the diviſion of the bible into chapters and verſes, renders it more difficult to be read, by children than many other books.

By a little care in a maſter, this difficulty may be obviated, and even an advantage derived from it. It may ſerve to transfer the attention of the ſcholar to the *ſenſe* of a ſubject; and no perſon will ever read well, who is guided by any thing elſe, in his ſtops, emphaſis, or accents. The diviſion of the bible into chapters and verſes, is not a greater obſtacle to its being read with eaſe, than the bad punctuation of moſt other books. I deliver this ſtricture upon other books, from the authority of Mr. Rice, the celebrated author of the art of ſpeaking, whom I heard declare in a large company in London, that he had never ſeen a book properly pointed in the Engliſh Language. He exemplified, notwithſtanding, by reading to the ſame company a paſſage from Milton, his perfect knowledge of the art of reading.

Some people, I know, have propoſed to introduce extracts from the bible, into our ſchools, inſtead of the bible itſelf. Many excellent works of this kind, are in print, but if we admit any one of them, we ſhall have the ſame inundation of them that we have had of grammars, ſpelling books, and leſſons for children, many of which are publiſhed for the benefit of the authors only, and all of them have tended greatly to increaſe the expence of education. Beſides, theſe extracts

or abridgements of the bible, often contain the tenets of particular ſects or perſons, and therefore, may be improper for ſchools compoſed of the children of different ſects of chriſtians. The bible is a cheap book, and is to be had in every bookſtore. It is, moreover, eſteemed and prefered by all ſects; becauſe each finds its peculiar doctrines in it. It ſhould therefore be uſed in preference to any abridgements of it, or hiſtories extracted from it.

I have heard it propoſed that a portion of the bible ſhould be read every day by the maſter, as a means of inſtructing children in it: But this is a poor ſubſtitute for obliging children to read it as a ſchool book; for by this means we inſenſibly *engrave*, as it were, its contents upon their minds: and it has been remarked that children, inſtructed in this way in the ſcriptures, ſeldom forget any part of them. They have the ſame advantage over thoſe perſons, who have only heard the ſcriptures read by a maſter, that a man who has worked with the tools of a mechanical employment for ſeveral years, has over the man who has only ſtood a few hours in a work ſhop, and ſeen the ſame buſineſs carried on by other people.

In this defence of the uſe of the bible as a ſchool book, I beg you would not think that I ſuppoſe the Bible to contain the only revelation which God has made to man. I believe in an internal revelation, or a moral

principle, which God has implanted in the heart of every man, as the precurſor of his final dominion over the whole human race. How much this internal revelation accords with the external, remains yet to be explored by philoſophers. I am diſpoſed to believe, that moſt of the doctrines of chriſtianity revealed in the bible might be diſcovered by a cloſe examination of all the principles of action in man: But who is equal to ſuch an enquiry? It certainly does not ſuit the natural indolence, or laborious employments of a great majority of mankind. The internal revelation of the goſpel may be compared to the ſtraight line which is made through a wilderneſs by the aſſiſtance of a compaſs, to a diſtant country, which few are able to diſcover, while the bible reſembles a public road to the ſame country, which is wide, plain, and eaſily found. "And a highway ſhall be there, and it ſhall be called the way of holineſs. The way faring men, though fools, ſhall not err therein."

Neither let me in this place exclude the Revelation which God has made of himſelf to man in the works of creation. I am far from wiſhing to leſſen the influence of this ſpecies of Revelation upon mankind. But the knowledge of God obtained from this ſource, is obſcure and feeble in its operation, compared with that which is derived from the bible. The viſible creation ſpeaks of the Deity in hyeroglyphics, while the bible deſcribes all his attributes and perfections in ſuch plain,

and familiar language that "he who runs may "read."

How kindly has our maker dealt with his creatures, in providing three different cords to draw them to himſelf! But how weakly do ſome men act, who ſuſpend their faith, and hopes upon only one of them! By laying hold of them all, they would approach more ſpeedily and certainly to the centre of all happineſs.

To the arguments I have mentioned in favour of the uſe of the bible as a ſchool book, I ſhall add a few reflections.

The preſent faſhionable practice of rejecting the bible from our ſchools, I ſuſpect has originated with the deiſts. They diſcover great ingenuity in this new mode of attacking chriſtianity. If they proceed in it, they will do more in half a century, in extirpating our religion, than Bolingbroke or Voltaire could have effected in a thouſand years. I am not writing to this claſs of people. I deſpair of changing the opinions of any of them. I wiſh only to alter the opinions and conduct of thoſe lukewarm, or ſuperſtitious chriſtians, who have been miſled by the deiſts upon this ſubject. On the ground of the good old cuſtom, of uſing the bible as a ſchool book, it becomes us to entrench our religion. It is the laſt bulwark the deiſts have left it; for they have rendered inſtruction in the principles

of chriſtianity by the pulpit and the preſs, ſo unfaſhionable, that little good for many years ſeems to have been done by either of them.

The effects of the diſuſe of the bible, as a ſchool book have appeared of late in the neglect and even contempt with which ſcripture names are treated by many people. It is becauſe parents have not been early taught to know or reſpect the characters and exploits of the old and new teſtament worthies, that their names are exchanged for thoſe of the modern kings of Europe, or of the principal characters in novels and romances. I conceive there may be ſome advantage in bearing ſcripture names. It may lead the perſons who bear them, to ſtudy that part of the ſcriptures, in which their names are mentioned, with uncommon attention, and perhaps it may excite a deſire in them to poſſeſs the talents or virtues of their ancient nameſakes. This remark firſt occurred to me, upon hearing a pious woman whoſe name was Mary, ſay, that the firſt paſſages of the bible, which made a ſerious impreſſion on her mind, were thoſe intereſting chapters and verſes in which the name of Mary is mentioned in the New Teſtament.

It is a ſingular fact, that while the names of the kings and emperors of Rome, are now given chiefly to *horſes* and *dogs*, ſcripture names have hitherto been confined only to the human ſpecies. Let the enemies and contemners of thoſe names take care, leſt the names of

more modern kings be given hereafter only to the ſame animals, and leſt the names of the modern heroines of romances be given to animals of an inferior ſpecies.

It is with great pleaſure, that I have obſerved the bible to be the only book read in the Sunday ſchools in England. We have adopted the ſame practice in the Sunday ſchools, lately eſtabliſhed in this city. This will give our religion (humanly ſpeaking) the chance of a longer life in our country. We hear much of the perſons educated in free ſchools in England, turning out well in the various walks of life. I have enquired into the cauſe of it, and have ſatisfied myſelf, that it is wholly to be aſcribed to the general uſe of the bible in thoſe ſchools, for it ſeems the children of poor people are of too little conſequence to be guarded from the ſuppoſed evils of reading the ſcriptures in early life, or in an unconſecrated ſchool houſe.

However great the benefits of reading the ſcriptures in ſchools have been, I cannot help remarking, that theſe benefits might be much greater, did ſchoolmaſters take more pains to explain them to their ſcholars. Did they demonſtrate the divine original of the bible from the purity, conſiſtency, and benevolence of its doctrines and precepts—did they explain the meaning of the levitical inſtitutions, and ſhow their application to the numerous and ſucceſſive goſpel diſpenſations—did they inform their pupils that the groſs and abominable vices

of the Jews were recorded *only* as proofs of the depravity of human nature, and of the inſufficiency of the law, to produce moral virtue and thereby to eſtabliſh the neceſſity and perfection of the goſpel ſyſtem—and above all, did they often enforce the diſcourſes of our Saviour, as the beſt rule of life, and the ſureſt guide to happineſs, how great would be the influence of our ſchools upon the order and proſperity of our country! Such a mode of inſtructing children in the chriſtian religion, would convey knowledge into their *underſtandings*, and would therefore be preferable to teaching them creeds, and catechiſms, which too often convey, not knowledge, but *words* only, into their *memories*. I think I am not too ſanguine in believing, that education, conducted in this manner, would, in the courſe of two generations, eradicate infidelity from among us, and render civil government ſcarcely neceſſary in our country.

In contemplating the political inſtitutions of the United States, I lament, that we waſte ſo much time and money in puniſhing crimes, and take ſo little pains to prevent them. We profeſs to be republicans, and yet we neglect the only means of eſtabliſhing and perpetuating our republican forms of government, that is, the univerſal education of our youth in the principles of chriſtianity, by means of the bible; for this divine book, above all others, favours that equality among mankind, that reſpect for juſt laws, and all thoſe ſober

and frugal virtues, which conſtitute the ſoul of republicaniſm.

I have now only to apologize for havging addreſſed this letter to you, after having been aſſured by you, that your opinion, reſpecting the uſe of the bible as a ſchool book, coincided with mine. My excuſe for what I have done is, that I knew you were qualified by your knowledge, and diſpoſed by your zeal in the cauſe of truth, to correct all the errors you would diſcover in my letter. Perhaps a further apology may be neceſſary for my having preſumed to write upon a ſubject ſo much above my ordinary ſtudies. My excuſe for it is, that I thought a ſingle mite from a member of a profeſſion, which has been frequently charged with ſcepticiſm in religion, might attract the notice of perſons who had often overlooked the more ample contributions upon this ſubject, of gentlemen of other profeſſions. With great reſpect, I am, dear ſir, your ſincere friend.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

Philadelphia, March 10, 1791.

AN ADDRESS TO THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL OF EVERY DENOMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES, UPON SUBJECTS INTERESTING TO MORALS.

FROM the nature of your purſuits, and from your influence in ſociety, I am encouraged to addreſs you upon ſubjects of the utmoſt importance to the preſent and future happineſs of your fellow-citizens, as well as to the proſperity of the United States.

Under the great diverſity of opinions, you entertain in religion, you are all united in inculcating the neceſſity of morals. In this buſineſs you are neither catholics nor proteſtants—churchmen nor diſſenters. One ſpirit actuates you all. From the ſucceſs, or failure, of your exertions in the cauſe of virtue, we anticipate the freedom or ſlavery of our country. Even the new government of the united ſtates, from which ſo many advantages are expected, will neither reſtore order, nor eſtabliſh juſtice among us, unleſs it be accompanied and ſupported by morality, among all claſſes of people. Impreſſed with a ſenſe of the truth of theſe obſervations, I ſhall briefly point out a few of thoſe practices, which prevail in America, which ex-

ert a pernicious influence upon morals, and thereby prepare our country for miſery and ſlavery.

I ſhall begin by pointing out, in the firſt place, the miſchevious effects of ſpirituos liquors upon the morals of our citizens.

I. They render the temper peeviſh and paſſionate. They beget quarrels, and lead to profane and indecent language. They are the parents of idleneſs and extravagance, and the certain forerunners of poverty, and frequently of jails, wheelbarrows, and the gallows. They are likewiſe injurious to health and life, and kill more than the peſtilence, or the ſword. Our legiſlatures, by premitting the uſe of them, for the ſake of the paltry duty collected from them, act as abſurdly as a prince would do, who ſhould permit the cultivation of a poiſonous nut, which every year carried off ten thouſand of his ſubjects, becauſe it yielded a revenue of thirty thouſand pounds a year. Theſe ten thouſand men would produce annually by their labour, or by paying a trifling impoſt upon any one of the neceſſaries of life, twenty times that ſum. In order to put an end to the deſolating effects of ſpirituous liquors, it will be proper for our miniſters to preach againſt, not the abuſe of them only, but their uſe altogether. They are never neceſſary but in ſickneſs: and then they are better applied to the outſide, than to the inſide of the body.

II Militia laws have an unfriendly influence upon morals, more eſpecially where they authoriſe the election of the officers by the privates. The meetings of citizens for militia exerciſes are generally attended with intemperance in drinking, quarrelling, profane ſwearing, and acts of violence to the property of the perſons who live near the places where thoſe meetings are held. It is a miſtake to ſuppoſe that the defence of liberty requires a well organized militia in the time of peace.

The United States proved in the beginning of the late war, and France has proved ſince, that armies of diſciplined irreſiſtable troops may be formed in a ſhort time out of the peaſants of a country. War has lately become a ſimple art. All that is practical in it, may be acquired in a few weeks. The moſt gallant exploits were performed during the late war, by men who had been but a few days in the practice of handling fire arms.

III. Fairs are a Pandora's box opened twice a year, in many of the ſtates. They are wholly unneceſſary, ſince ſhops are ſo common in all the civilized parts of the country. They tempt to extravagance—gaming —drunkenneſs—and uncleanneſs. They are proper only in deſpotic ſtates, where the more a people are corrupted, the more readily they ſubmit to arbitrary government.

IV. Law-ſuits ſhould be diſcouraged as much as poſſible. They are highly diſreputable between perſons

who profeſs chriſtianity. The attendance upon courts expoſes to idleneſs—drinking—and gaming; and the uſual delays of juſtice ſeldom fail of entailing hereditary diſcord among neighbours. It is with inexpreſſible pleaſure that I have lately ſeen an account of a recommendation from the preſbyterian ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia, to all the churches under their care, to ſettle their diſputes after the manner of the primitive chriſtians and friends, by arbitration. Bleſſed event in the hiſtory of mankind! may their practice ſpread among all ſects of chriſtians, and may it prove a prelude of that happy time foretold in the ſcriptures, when war and murder ſhall be no more.

V. The licentiouſneſs of the preſs is a fruitful ſource of the corruption of morals. Men are deterred from injuring each other, chiefly by the fear of detection or puniſhment. Now both of theſe are removed by the uſual ſecrecy of a licentious preſs. Hence revenge, ſcandal, and falſehood are cheriſhed and propagated in a community. By means of this engine of malice, we ſometimes ſee not only reputation but even life, itſelf, taken away. The patriotic Mr. Cummins, and the amiable Dr. Hawkeſworth, it is ſaid, both died of a broken heart, in conſequence of being attacked by perſons, who concealed themſelves behind a licentious preſs in London. Perſonal diſputes and attacks in a newſpaper, may be compared to duels, or to the Indian mode of fighting, according as they are carried on with,

or without the names of their authors. They ſhew in both caſes, a degree of the ſame ſpirit, which leads to open murder or private aſſaſſination. But further: the cauſe of liberty is greatly injured by perſonal publications, which are not true, or which have no connection with the public; for who will believe a truth that is told of a bad man, who has been accuſtomed to read falſehoods publiſhed every day, of a good man? Printers who vend ſcurrility, would do well in conſidering, that the publiſher of ſcandal, is as bad as the author of it, in the ſame manner that the receiver of ſtolen goods, is as bad as the thief.

VI. Horſe-racing and cock-fighting are unfriendly amuſements to morals, and of courſe to the liberties of our country. They occaſion idleneſs, fraud, gaming, and profane ſwearing, and harden the heart againſt the feelings of humanity. Theſe vulgar ſports ſhould be forbidden by law in all chriſtian and republican countries.

VII. Clubs of all kinds, where the only buſineſs of the company, is feeding (for that is the true name of a gratification that is ſimply animal) are hurtful to morals. The ſociety in taverns where clubs are uſually held, is ſeldom ſubject to much order. It expoſes men to idleneſs, prodigality, and debt. It is in private families, only that ſociety is innocent, or improving. Here manners are uſually kept within the bounds of decency by the company of females, who generally compoſe

a part of all private families; and manners, it is well known, have an influence upon morals.

VIII. Amuſements of every kind, on Sundays, beget habits of idleneſs and a love of pleaſure, which extend their influence to every day of the week. In thoſe manufacturing towns in England, where the Sundays are ſpent in idleneſs or frolicking, little or no work is ever done on the enſuing day; hence it is called St. Monday. If there were no hereafter—individuals and ſocieties would be great gainers, by attending public worſhip every Sunday. Reſt from labour in the houſe of God, winds up the machine of both ſoul and body, better than any thing elſe, and thereby invigorates it for the labours and duties of the enſuing week. Should I ever travel into a chriſtian country, and wiſh to know whether the laws of that country were wiſe and juſt, and whether they were duly obeyed, the only queſtion I would aſk, ſhould be "do the people ſpend Sunday at church, or in pleaſurable entertainments at home and abroad?" the Sunday ſchools in England have been found extremely uſeful in reforming the children of poor people. Who can witneſs the practices of ſwimming, ſliding and ſcating, which prevail ſo univerſally on Sundays, in moſt of the cities of the United States, and not wiſh for ſimilar inſtitutions to reſcue our poor children from deſtruction? I ſhall conclude my remarks upon this ſubject, by declaring, that I do not wiſh to ſee any new laws made to enforce the keeping

of the Sabbath. I call upon miniſters of the goſpel only, to increaſe and extend, by their influence, the pure and uſeful ſpirit of their religion. In riding through our country, we may always tell, by the appearance of the people we meet with on the road, or ſee at taverns, whether they enjoy the benefit of public worſhip, and of a vigilant and faithful miniſtry. Where a ſettlement enjoys theſe ineſtimable beſſings, we generally find taverns deſerted on a Sunday, and a ſtillneſs pervading the whole neighbourhood, as if nature herſelf had ceaſed from her labours, to ſhare with man in paying her weekly homage to God for his creating goodneſs

Thus I have briefly pointed out the principal ſources of vice in our country. They are all of a public nature, and affect, in a direct manner, the general intereſts of ſociety. I ſhall now ſuggeſt a few ſources of vice, which are of a domeſtic nature, and which indirectly affect the happineſs of our country.

I. The frequent or long abſence of the maſter and miſtreſs from home, by diſſolving the bounds of domeſtic government, proves a fruitful ſource of vice among children and ſervants. To prevent in ſome degree, the inconveniencies which ariſe from the neceſſary abſence of the heads of a family, from home, it would be a good practice to inveſt the eldeſt ſon or daughter, when of a ſuitable age, with the government of the family and to make them reſponſible for their conduct, upon

the return of their parents. Government in a family is like an electric rod to a houſe. Where it is wanting a family is expoſed to the attacks of every folly and vice, that come within the ſphere of its attraction.

II. Frequent and large entertainments weaken domeſtic government, by removing children and ſervants too long from the eye of authority. They moreover, expoſe children and ſervants to the temptation of eating and drinking to exceſs.

III. Boys and girls ſhould never be admitted as ſervants—into a genteel family. They are ſeldom inſtructed properly, by their maſters or miſtreſſes. Their leiſure hours are moreover ſpent in bad company: and all the vices which they pick up, are ſpread among the children of the family, who are generally more prone to aſſociate with them, than with any other. Where poverty or death makes it neceſſary to bind out children, they ſhould be bound to thoſe perſons only, who will work with them. By theſe means, they will be trained to induſtry, and kept from idleneſs and vice.

IV. Servants, both male and female ſhould always be hired by the year, otherwiſe no proper government can be eſtabliſhed over them. The impertinence and irregular conduct of ſervants, ariſe from their holding their places by too ſhort a tenure. It would be a good law to fine every perſon, who hired a ſervant, without a written good character, ſigned by his laſt maſter,

and counterſigned by a magiſtrate. This practice would ſoon drive bad ſervants out of the civilized parts of our country and thereby prevent much evil both in families and ſociety. How many young men and women have carried through life the ſorrowful marks in their conſciences or characters, of their being early initiated into the myſteries of vice, by unprincipled ſervants of both ſexes! Servants that are married, ſhould be preferred to ſuch as are ſingle. Matrimony in all ranks of people leſſens the temptation to vice, and furniſhes freſh motives to juſt conduct.

V. Apprentices ſhould always board and lodge, if poſſible, with their maſters and miſtreſſes, when they are ſeparated from their parents. Young people ſeldom fall into bad company in the day time. It is in the evening, when they ceaſe to be ſubject to government, that they are in the moſt danger of corruption: and this danger can be obviated only by ſubjecting all their hours to the direction of their maſters or miſtreſſes.

I ſhall conclude this addreſs, by ſuggeſting to miniſters of the goſpel, a plan of a new ſpecies of federal government for the advancement of morals in the United States. Let each ſect appoint a repreſentative in a general convention of chriſtians, whoſe buſineſs ſhall be, to unite in promoting the general objects of chriſtianity. Let no matters of faith or opinion ever be introduced into this convention, but let them be conſider-

ed as badges of the ſovereignty of each particular ſect. To prevent all diſputes, let the objects of the deliberations of this general convention be aſcertained with the ſame accuracy, that the powers of the national government are defined in the new conſtitution of the United States. By this previous compact, no encroachments will ever be made by the general government, upon the principles—diſcipline—or habits of any one ſect—for in the preſent ſtate of human nature, the diviſion of chriſtians into ſects, is as neceſſary to the exiſtence and preſervation of chriſtianity, as the diviſion of mankind into nations, and of nations into ſeparate families are neceſſary to promote general and private happineſs. By means of ſuch an inſtitution, chriſtian charity will be promoted, and the diſcipline of each church will be ſtrengthened—for I would propoſe, that a diſmiſſion for immorality, from any one church, ſhould exclude a man from every church in the eccleſiaſtical union. But the advantages of this chriſtian convention will not end here. It will poſſeſs an influence over the laws of the United States. This influence will differ from that of moſt of the eccleſiaſtical aſſociations that have exiſted in the world. It will be the influence of reaſon over the paſſions of men. Its objects will be morals, not principles, and the deſign of it will be, not to make men zealous members of any one church, but to make them—good neighbours—good huſbands—good fathers—good maſters—good ſervants—and of courſe good

rulers and good citizens. The plan is certainly a practicable one. America has taught the nations of Europe by her example to be free, and it is to be hoped ſhe will ſoon teach them to govern themſelves. Let her advance one ſtep further—and teach mankind, that it is poſſible for chriſtians of different denominations to love each other, and to unite in the advancement of their common intereſts. By the gradual operation of ſuch natural means, the kingdoms of this world are probably to become the kingdoms of the prince of righteouſneſs and peace.

Philadelphia, June 21, 1788.

An Enquiry into the Consistency of Oaths with Reason and Christianity.

In diſcuſſing this queſtion, I ſhall firſt mention the objections to oaths, which are founded in reaſon; and, ſecondly, the objections to them which are derived from the precepts and ſpirit of the chriſtian religion.

I. Oaths produce an idea in the minds of men, that there are *two* kinds or degrees of truth; the one intended for common, and the other for ſolemn occaſions. Now, this idea is directly calculated to beget a want of reverence for the *inferior* kind of truth; hence men are led to trifle with it in the common affairs of human life. I grant that ſome men will tell the truth, when urged to it by the ſolemn formalities of an oath, who would not otherwiſe do it: But this proves the great miſchief of oaths in ſociety; for as men are called upon to ſpeak the truth 999 *times* in common life, to *once* they are called upon to *ſwear* to it, we have exactly 999 falſehoods to *one* truth told by them. How extenſive, then, muſt be the miſchief of this great diſproportion between truth and falſehood, in all the affairs of human life! It is wrong to do

any thing that ſhall create an idea of two kinds of truth. There is a ſcale of falſehoods; but truth has no degrees or ſubdiviſions. Like its divine author, it is an eternal unchangeable UNIT.

II. The practice of ſwearing according to human laws, appears to be the cauſe of all profane ſwearing, which is ſo univerſal among all ranks of people in common converſation; for if there are two modes of ſpeaking the truth, it is natural for men to prefer that mode which the laws of our country have entitled to the firſt degree of credibility: hence men ſwear, when they wiſh to be believed, in common converſation.

III. Oaths have been multiplied upon ſo many trifling occaſions, that they have ceaſed, in a great degree, to operate with any force upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions: hence the univerſal prevalence of *perjury* in courts, armies and cuſtom-houſes, all over the world. This fact is ſo notorious in Jamaica, that a law has lately been paſſed in that iſland, which requires a bond of £.200, inſtead of an oath, from every captain that enters his veſſel in the cuſtom-houſe, as a ſecurity for his veracity in the manifeſt of his cargo, and for the amount of his duties to the government.

Reaſon and ſcripture (when perfectly underſtood) are never *contrary* to each other; and revelation from God can never give a ſanction to that which is ſo

evidently abſurd, and unfriendly to the intereſts of human ſociety. Let us proceed then to examine the bible, and here we ſhall find, that oaths are as contrary to the precepts and ſpirit of chriſtianity as they are to ſound reaſon.

Before I mention either the precepts or the ſpirit of the goſpel, which militate againſt oaths, I ſhall mention a few of the caſes of ſwearing which I find upon record in the New Teſtament. I ſhall firſt mention the precedents in favour of this practice, and then the precepts and precedents againſt it.

The *firſt* precedent I ſhall produce, is taken from the example of the devil, who addreſſes our Saviour in an oath, in Mark v. 7. "What have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou ſon of the moſt high God? I adjure thee *by God* that thou torment me not."

A *ſecond* precedent is taken from the example of the high prieſt, who addreſſes our Saviour in an oath in Matthew, xxvi. 63. "I adjure thee," ſays he, juſt before he conſents to his death, "by the *living God*, that thou tell us whether thou be the Chriſt the ſon of God." It has been ſaid that there was no impropriety in this mode of expreſſion, otherwiſe our Saviour would have rebuked it: but let it be remembered, that he ſtood before the tribunal of a high-prieſt, as a *priſoner*, and not as a *teacher*; and hence we find he ſubmits in *ſilence* to all the prophane inſults that were offered him. In this ſilent ſubmiſſi-

on to inſult, he moreover fulfilled an ancient prophefy "he is brought as a lamb to the ſlaughter and as a ſheep before his ſhearers is dumb, ſo he openeth not his mouth" Iſaiah LIII. 7.

Peter furniſhes a *third* inſtance of ſwearing. "And again he *denied*" (ſays Matthew, chap. XXVI. 72.) "with an *oath*, I know not the man." It would ſeem from this account, that a bare *affirmation* was ſo characteriſtic of a diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt, that Peter could not uſe a more direct method to convince the maid, who charged him with being a follower of Jeſus of Nazareth, that he was *not* a *chriſtian*, than by having recourſe to the Jewiſh and pagan practice of taking an oath.

Herod furniſhes a *fourth* inſtance of ſwearing, in Matthew XIV. 7, when he promiſed to give the daughter of Herodias whatever ſhe ſhould aſk of him: ſhe aſked for John the baptiſt's head in a charger: the king repented of his haſty promiſe; "nevertheleſs, for the oath's ſake, and them which ſat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her." Here it is evident he would have violated a common promiſe. But if common promiſes are not held ſacred, and binding, there is an end of a great portion of truth in ſociety, and of all the order and happineſs which ariſe from it. To ſecure conſtant and univerſal truth, men ſhould ſwear *always* or *not at all*.

A *fifth* precedent for ſwearing we find in the xix of Acts and 13th verſe. "Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorciſts, took upon them to call over them which had evil ſpirits, the name of the Lord Jeſus, ſaying, *we adjure thee*, by Jeſus whom Paul preacheth. And the man in whom the evil ſpirit was, leaped on them, and overcame them; ſo that they fled out of the houſe naked and wounded."

The *laſt* precedent for ſwearing that I ſhall mention, is the one related in Acts xxiii. 21ſt. It contains an account of forty men who had bound themſelves, by *an oath*, not to eat or drink, until they had killed St. Paul. It would ſeem that this banditti knew each other perfectly, and that they would not act together under the form of a common obligation. The occaſion indeed, ſeems to require an oath. It was an aſſociation to commit murder. I am diſpoſed to ſuſpect that oaths were introduced originally to compel men to do things that were contrary to juſtice, or to their conſciences.

In mentioning the precepts and precedents that are to be found in the new teſtament againſt ſwearing, the following ſtriking paſſage, taken from Matthew v. verſes 34, 35, 36, 37, ſhould alone determine the queſtion. "Swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footſtool; nor by Jeruſalem, for it is the city of the

great king. Neither ſhalt thou ſwear by thy head, becauſe thou canſt not make one hair white or black But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of evil."

The words of the apoſtle James, are equally pointed againſt ſwearing, chap. v. 12. "But above all things my brethren, ſwear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; leſt ye fall into condemnation."

I know, theſe paſſages are ſaid to be levelled only againſt profane ſwearing in common converſation, but this will appear improbable when we reflect, that our Saviour's words were addreſſed excluſively to his diſciples, and that the epiſtle of St. James, from whence the prohibition of ſwearing is taken, is directed to a number of pious converts to chriſtianity, none of whom, any more than the diſciples of our Lord, could be ſuſpected of profane ſwearing in common converſation. Both paſſages equally condemn oaths of every kind, and demonſtrate their contrariety to the goſpel diſpenſation.

There is a peculiar meaning in the reaſon which is given for the prohibition of ſwearing in the precept, of our Saviour, viz. that any thing more than a bare affirmation, *cometh of evil.* Yes, it came originally from the univerſal prevalance of falſehood in ſociety; but the chriſtian religion, by opening new ſources of

moral and religious obligation, and by diſcovering more fully the beauty and rewards of truth and deformity, and future puniſhment of falſehood, has rendered the obligation of oaths wholly unneceſſary. They comported with the feeble diſcoveries of the Jewiſh, and the numerous corruptions of the pagan religions; but they are unneceſſary under that full and clear manifeſtation of the divine will which is contained in the goſpel. Cæſar's wife ſhould not be ſuſpected.—With how much more propriety ſhould this be ſaid of the veracity of a chriſtian, than of the chaſtity of the wife of a heathen emperor, Every time a chriſtian ſwears, he expoſes the purity and truth of his religion to ſuſpicion. "As for you, Petrarch, your word is ſufficient," ſaid the cardinal Colonna, in an enquiry into the cauſe of a riot that had happened in his family, while that celebrated poet was a member of it; and in which he exacted an oath from every other member of his family, not excepting his own brother, the biſhop of Luna. The ſame addreſs ſhould be made to every chriſtian, when he is called upon to declare the truth. "You believe in a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhment—you profeſs to be the follower of that Being who has inculcated a regard for truth, under the awful conſideration of his omniſcience, and who has emphatically ſtyled himſelf the TRUTH." *Your word, therefore, is ſufficient.*

A nobleman is permitted, by the laws of England, to declare the truth upon his *honour*. The profeſſion

of chriſtianity is declared in ſcripture to be an high calling, and chriſtians are ſaid to be *prieſts* and *kings*. Strange! that perſons of ſuch high rank, ſhould be treated with leſs reſpect than Engliſh noblemen; and ſtill more ſtrange! that perſons poſſeſſing theſe auguſt titles, ſhould betray their illuſtrious birth and dignity, by conforming to a practice which tends ſo much to invalidate the truth and excellency of their religion.

It is very remarkable, that in all the accounts we have of the intercourſe of our Saviour with his diſciples, and of their ſubſequent intercourſe with each other, there is no mention made of a ſingle oath being taken by either of them.

Perhaps there never was an event in which the higheſt degrees of evidence were more neceſſary, than they were to eſtabliſh the truth of the reſurrection of our Saviour, as on the truth of this miracle depended the credibility of the chriſtian religion. But in the eſtabliſhment of the truth of this great event, no oath is taken, or required. The witneſſes of it ſimply relate what they ſaw, and are believed by all the diſciples except one, who ſtill remembered too well the prohibition of his maſter, "ſwear not at all," to aſk for an oath to remove his unbelief.

It is worthy of notice likewiſe, that no prepoſterous oath of office is required of the diſciples when they aſſume the apoſtolic character, and are ſent forth to

preach the goſpel to all nations. How unlike the ſpirit of the goſpel are thoſe human conſtitutions and laws, which require oaths of fidelity, every year! and which appear to be founded in the abſurd idea that men are at all times the guardians of their own virtue.

There can be no doubt of chriſtians having uniformly refuſed to take an oath in the firſt ages of the church: nor did they conform to this pagan cuſtom, till after chriſtianity was corrupted by a mixture with many other parts of the pagan and Jewiſh religions.

There are two arguments in favour of oaths which are derived from the new teſtament, and which remain to be refuted.—1ſt St. Paul uſes ſeveral expreſſions in his epiſtles which amount to oaths, and even declares "an oath to be the end of ſtrife." It was the character of St. Paul, that he became all things to all men. He circumciſed as well as baptized Jews, and he proves the truth of revelation by a quotation from a heathen poet. Oaths were a part of the Jewiſh and pagan inſtitutions—and, like ſeveral other ceremonies, for ſome time, continued to retain a ſtrong hold of the prejudices of the new converts to chriſtianity. But the above words of the Apoſtle, which have been urged in favor of ſwearing, are by no means intended to apply to common life. They have a retroſpect to the promiſe made to Abraham of the coming of the Meſſiah, and were deſigned to ſhew the

certainty of that event in a language which was accommodated to the idea of the Jewiſh nation.

2d. It has beeen ſaid, that the great Jehovah frequently ſwears, both in the old and new teſtament, and that the angel who is to ſound the laſt trumpet will "ſwear that time ſhall be no more." Every expreſſion of this kind ſhould be conſidered as an accomodation to Jewiſh and pagan cuſtoms, in order to render the truths of revelation more intelligible and acceptable. The Supreme Being, for the ſame reaſons, often aſſumes to himſelf the violent paſſions, and even the features and ſenſes of men; and yet who can ſuppoſe it proper to aſcribe either of them to a Being, one of whoſe perfections conſiſts in his exiſting as a pure unchangeable ſpirit.

If oaths are contrary to reaſon, and have a pernicious influence upon morals and the order of ſociety; and above all, if they are contrary to the precepts and ſpirit of the goſpel; it becomes legiſlators and miniſters of the goſpel to conſider how far they are reſponſible for all the falſehood, profane ſwearing and perjury that exiſt in ſociety. It is in the power of legiſlators to aboliſh oaths, by expunging them from our laws; and it is in the power of miniſters of the goſpel, by their influence and example, to render truth ſo ſimple and obligatory, that human governments ſhall be aſhamed to aſk any other mode of declaring it, from *Chriſtians*, than by a bare affirmation.

The friends of virtue and freedom have beheld, with great pleaſure, a new conſtitution eſtabliſhed in the United States, whoſe objects are *peace*, *union* and *juſtice*. It will be in the power of the firſt congreſs that ſhall act under this conſtitution, to ſet the world an example of enlightened policy, by framing laws that ſhall command obedience without the abſurd and improper obligation of oaths. By this means they will add the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of TRUTH, to the great and valuable objects of the conſtitution that have been mentioned.

Jan. 20 1789.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS UPON CRIMINALS, AND UPON SOCIETY. READ IN THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING POLITICAL ENQUIRIES, CONVENED AT THE HOUSE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ. IN PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 9th, 1787.

"Accuſtomed to look up to thoſe nations from whom we have derived "our origin, for our laws, our opinions, and our manners; we have re-"tained, with undiſtinguiſhing reverence, their errors, with their im-"provements; have blended, with our public inſtitutions, the policy of "diſſimilar countries; and have grafted, on an infant commonwealth, "the manners of ancient and corrupted monarchies." PREFACE TO THE LAWS OF THE SOCIETY FOR POLITICAL ENQUIRIES.

THE deſign of puniſhment is ſaid to be, 1ſt, to reform the perſon who ſuffers it; 2dly, to prevent the perpetration of crimes, by exciting terror in the minds of ſpectators; and, 3dly, to remove thoſe perſons from ſociety, who have manifeſted, by their tempers and crimes, that they are unfit to live in it.

From the firſt inſtitution of governments, in every age and country (with but a few exceptions) legiſlators have thought that puniſhments ſhould be *publick*, in order to anſwer the two firſt of theſe intentions. It will require ſome fortitude to combat opinions that have been ſanctified by ſuch long and general preju-

dice, and ſupported by univerſal practice. But truth in government, as well as in philoſophy, is of progreſſive growth. As in philoſophy, we often arrive at truth by rejecting the evidence of our ſenſes; ſo in government, we often arrive at it, after divorcing our firſt thoughts. Reaſon, though depoſed and oppreſſed, is the only juſt ſovereign of the human mind. Diſcoveries, it is true, have been made by accident; but they have derived their credit and uſefulneſs only from their according with the deciſions of reaſon.

In medicine, above every other branch of philoſophy, we perceive many inſtances of the want of relation between the apparent cauſe and effect. Who, by reaſoning *a priori*, would ſuppoſe, that the hot regimen was not preferable to the cold, in the treatment of the ſmall-pox? But experience teaches us, that this is not the caſe. Cauſe and effect appear to be related in philoſophy, like the objects of chemiſtry. Similar bodies often repel each other, while bodies that are diſſimilar in figure, weight and quality, often unite together with impetuoſity. With our preſent imperfect degrees of knowledge of the properties of bodies, we can diſcover theſe chemical relations only by experiment. The ſame may be ſaid of the connection between *cauſe* and *effect*, in many parts of government. This connection often accords with reaſon, while it is repugnant to our ſenſes—and when this is not the caſe, from our inability to perceive it, it forces

our conſent from the teſtimony of experience and obſervation.

It has been remarked, that the profeſſion of arms owes its preſent rank, as a ſcience, to its having been reſcued, ſince the revival of letters, from the hands of mere ſoldiers, and cultivated by men acquainted with other branches of literature. The reaſon of this is plain. Truth is an unit. It is the ſame thing in war—philoſophy—medicine—morals—religion and government; and in proportion as we arrive at it in one ſcience, we ſhall diſcover it in others.

After this apology, for diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed opinions and practice, upon the ſubject of public puniſhments, I ſhall take the liberty of declaring, that the great ends propoſed, are not to be obtained by them; and that, on the contrary, all *public* puniſhments tend to make bad men worſe, and to increaſe crimes, by their influence upon ſociety.

I. The reformation of a criminal can never be effected by a public puniſhment, for the following reaſons.

1ſt. As it is always connected with infamy, it deſtroys in him the ſenſe of ſhame, which is one of the ſtrongeſt out-poſts of virtue.

2dly. It is generally of ſuch ſhort duration, as to produce none of thoſe changes in body or mind, which are abſolutely neceſſary to reform obſtinate habits of vice.

3dly. Experience proves, that public puniſhments have increaſed propenſities to crimes. A man who has loſt his character at a whipping-poſt, has nothing valuable left to loſe in ſociety. Pain has begotten inſenſibility to the whip; and infamy to ſhame. Added to his old habits of vice, he probably feels a ſpirit of revenge againſt the whole community, whoſe laws have inflicted his puniſhment upon him; and hence he is ſtimulated to add to the number and enormity of his outrages upon ſociety. The long duration of the puniſhment, when public, by increaſing its infamy, ſerves only to increaſe the evils that have been mentioned. The criminals, who were ſentenced to work in the preſence of the City of London, upon the Thames, during the late war, were prepared by it, for the perpetration of every crime, as ſoon as they were ſet at liberty from their confinement. I proceed,

II. To ſhew, that public puniſhments, ſo far from preventing crimes by the terror they excite in the minds of ſpectators, are directly calculated to produce them.

All men, when they ſuffer, diſcover either fortitude, inſenſibility, or diſtreſs. Let us inquire into the effects of each of theſe upon the minds of ſpectators.

1ſt. Fortitude is a virtue, that ſeizes ſo forcible upon our eſteem, that wherever we ſee it, it never fails to weaken, or to obliterate, our deteſtation of the crimes with which it is connected in criminals. "I call upon

" you,' ſaid major Andre, at the place of execution to his attendants " to bear witneſs, gentlemen, that " I die like a brave man." The effect of this ſpeech upon the American army is well known. The ſpy was loſt in the hero: and indignation, every where, gave way to admiration and praiſe. But this is not all: the admiration, which fortitude, under ſuffering, excites, has in ſome inſtances excited envy. In Denmark uncommon pains are taken to prepare criminals for death, by the converſation and inſtructions of the clergy. After this, they are conducted to the place of execution with uncommon pomp and ſolemnity. The criminals, under theſe circumſtances, ſuffer death with meekneſs—piety—and ſometimes with dignity. The effects of this, I have been well informed have been, in ſeveral inſtances, to induce deluded people to feign or confeſs crimes, which they had never committed, on purpoſe to ſecure to themſelves a conſpicuous death, and a certain entrance into happineſs. There is ſomething in the preſence of a number of ſpectators, which is calculated to excite and ſtrengthen fortitude in a ſufferer. " It is not ſo difficult a thing," ſaid Lewis XIV. to his courtiers, who ſtood round his death-bed, " to die, as I expected." " No " wonder," ſays Voltaire, who relates this anecdote, " for all men die with fortitude, who die in company." The bravery of ſoldiers is derived in a great degree, from the operation of this principle in the human mind.

2dly. If criminals diſcover inſenſibility under their puniſhments, the effect of it muſt be ſtill more fatal upon ſociety. It removes, inſtead of exciting terror. In ſome inſtances, I conceive it may excite a deſire in the minds of perſons whom debt or ſecret guilt has made miſerable, to ſeek an end of their diſtreſſes in the ſame enviable apathy to evil. Should this inſenſibility be connected with chearfulneſs, which is ſometimes the caſe, it muſt produce ſtill more unfriendly effects upon ſociety. But terrible muſt be the conſequence of this inſenſibility and chearfulneſs, if they ſhould lead criminals to retaliate upon the inhuman curioſity of ſpectators, by profane or indecent inſults or converſation.

3dly. The effects of diſtreſs in criminals, though leſs obvious are not leſs injurious to ſociety, than fortitude or inſenſibility. By an immutable law of our nature, diſtreſs of all kinds, when *ſeen*, produces ſympathy, and a diſpoſition to relieve it. This ſympathy, in generous minds, is not leſſened by the diſtreſs being the offspring of crimes: on the contrary, even the crimes themſelves are often palliated by the reflection that they were the unfortunate conſequences of extreme poverty—of ſeducing company—or of the want of a virtuous education, from the loſs or negligence of parents in early life. Now, as the diſtreſs which the criminals ſuffer, is the effect of a law of the ſtate, which cannot be reſiſted, the ſympathy of the ſpectator is rendered abortive, and returns empty to the

boſom in which it was awakened. Let us briefly examine the conſequences of this abortive ſympathy in ſociety. It will not be neceſſary here to dwell upon all the advantages of this principle in human nature. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it is the vicegerent of the divine benevolence in our world. It is intended to bind up all the wounds which ſin and death have made among mankind. It has founded hoſpitals—erected charity-ſchools—and connected the extremes of happineſs and miſery together in every part of the globe. Above all, ſenſibility is the centinel of the moral faculty. It decides upon the quality of the actions before they reach that divine principle of the ſoul. It is of itſelf, to uſe the words of an elegant female poet*,

"A haſty moral—a ſudden ſenſe of right."

If ſuch are the advantages of ſenſibility, now what muſt be the conſequences to ſociety, of extirpating or weakening it in the human breaſt? But public puniſhments are calculated to produce this effect. To prove this, I muſt borrow an analogy from the animal œconomy.—The ſenſibility of the human body is ſaid to be *active* and *paſſive*. The firſt is connected with motion and ſenſation; the ſecond only with ſenſation, The firſt is increaſed, the ſecond is diminiſhed, by the repetition of impreſſions. The ſame phænomena take place in the human mind. Senſibility here is both *active* and *paſſive*. Paſſive ſenſibility is leſſened, while that which

* Miſs Moore.

is active is increaſed by habit. The paſſive ſenſibility of a phyſician, to the diſtreſs of his patients, is always, diminiſhed, but his active ſenſibility is always increaſed by time; hence we find young phyſicians *feel* moſt— but old phyſicians, with leſs feeling, *diſcover* moſt ſympathy with their patients.

If ſuch be the conſtitution of our minds, then the effects, of diſtreſs upon them will be, not only to deſtroy paſſive, but to eradicate active ſenſibility from them. The principle of ſympathy, after being often oppoſed by the law of the ſtate, which forbids it to relieve the diſtreſs it commiſerates, will ceaſe to act altogether; and, from this defect of action, and the habit ariſing from it, will ſoon loſe its place in the human breaſt. Miſery of every kind will then be contemplated without emotion or ſympathy.—The widow and the orphan—the naked—the ſick, and the priſoner, will have no avenue to our ſervices or our charity—and what is worſe than all, when the centinel of our moral faculty is removed, there is nothing to guard the mind from the inroads of every poſitive vice.

I paſs over the influence of this ſympathy in its firſt operation upon the government of the ſtate. While we pity, we ſecretly condemn the law which inflicts the puniſhment: hence, ariſes a want of reſpect for Lwas in general, and a more feeble union of the great ties of government.

I have only to add, upon this part of my ſubject, that the pernicious effects of ſympathy, where it does not terminate in action, are happily provided againſt by the Jewiſh law. Hence we read of a prohibition againſt it where perſons ſuffer for certain crimes. To ſpectators, the voice of heaven, under ſuch circumſtances, is, "thine eye ſhall not pity him."

4thly. But it is poſſible the characters or conduct of criminals may be ſuch, as to excite indignation or contempt inſtead of pity, in the minds of ſpectators. Let us there enquire, briefly, into the effects of theſe paſſions upon the human mind. Every body acknowledges our obligations to univerſal benevolence; but theſe cannot be fulfilled, unleſs we love the whole human race, however diverſified they may be by weakneſs or crimes. The indignation or contempt which is felt for this unhappy part of the great family of mankind, muſt neceſſarily extinguiſh a large portion of this univerſal love. Nor is this all the men, or perhaps the women whoſe perſons we deteſt, poſſeſs ſouls and bodies compoſed of the ſame materials as thoſe of our friends and relations. They are bone of their bone; and were originally faſhioned with the ſame ſpirits. What, then, muſt be the conſequence of a familiarity with ſuch objects of horror, upon our attachments and duties to our friends and connections, or to the reſt of mankind? If a ſpectator ſhould give himſelf time to reflect upon ſuch a ſight of human depravity, he would naturally

recoil from the embraces of friendſhip, and the endearments of domeſtic life, and perhaps ſay with an unfortunate great man, after having experienced an inſtance of treachery in a friend, "Oh! that I were a dog, "that I might not call man my brother." The Jewiſh law forbade more than nine and thirty laſhes, leſt the ſufferer ſhould afterwards become "vile" in the ſight of ſpectators. It is the prerogative of God alone, to contemplate the vices of bad men, without withdrawing from them the ſupport of his benevolence. Hence we find, when he appeared in the world, in the perſon of his Son, he did not exclude criminals from the benefits of his goodneſs. He diſmiſſed a women caught in the perpetration of a crime, which was capital by the Jewiſh law, with a friendly admonition: and he opened the gates of paradiſe to a dying thief.

5thly. But let us ſuppoſe, that criminals are viewed without ſympathy—indignation—or contempt.—This will be the caſe, either when the ſpectators are themſelves hardened with vice, or when they are too young, or too ignorant, to connect the ideas of crimes and puniſhments together. Here, then, a new ſource of injury ariſes from the public nature of puniſhments. Every portion of them will appear, to ſpectators of this deſcription, to be mere arbitrary acts of cruelty: hence will ariſe a diſpoſition to exerciſe the ſame arbitrary cruelty over the feelings and lives of their fellow creatures. To ſee blows, or a halter, impoſed

in cold blood upon a criminal, whoſe paſſive behaviour, operating with the ignorance of the ſpectators, indicates innocence more than vice, cannot fail of removing the natural obſtacles to violence and murder in the human mind.

6thly. Public puniſhments make many crimes known to perſons who would otherwiſe have paſſed through life in a total ignorance of them. They moreover produce ſuch a familiarity, in the minds of ſpectators, with the crimes for which they are inflicted, that, in ſome inſtances, they have been known to excite a propenſity for them. It has been remarked, that a certain immorality has always kept pace with public admonitions in the churches in the eaſtern ſtates. In proportion as this branch of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline has declined, fewer children have been born out of wedlock.

7thly. Ignominy is univerſally acknowledged to be a worſe puniſhment than death. Let it not be ſuppoſed, from this circumſtance, that it operates more than the fear of death in preventing crimes. On the contrary, like the indiſcriminate puniſhment of death, it not only confounds and levels all crimes, but by increaſing the diſproportion between crimes and puniſhments, it creates a hatred of all law and government; and thus diſpoſes to the perpetration of every crime. Laws can only be reſpected and obeyed, while they bear an exact proportion to crimes.—The law

which puniſhes the ſhooting of a ſwan with death, in England, has produced a thouſand murders. Nor is this all the miſchievous influence, which the puniſhment of ignominy has upon ſociety. While murder is puniſhed with death, the man who robs on the high-way, or breaks open a houſe, muſt want the common feelings and principles which belong to human nature, if he does not add murder to theft, in order to ſcreen himſelf, if he ſhould be detected, from that puniſhment which is acknowledged to be more terrible than death.

It would ſeem ſtrange, that ignominy ſhould ever have been adopted, as a milder puniſhment than death, did we not know that the human mind ſeldom arrives at truth upon any ſubject, till it has firſt reached the extremity of error.

8thly. But may not the benefit derived to ſociety, by employing criminals to repair public roads, or to clean ſtreets, overbalance the evils that have been mentioned? I anſwer, by no means. On the contrary, beſides operating in *one*, or in *all* the ways that have been deſcribed, the practice of employing criminals in public labour, will render labour of every kind diſreputable, more eſpecially that ſpecies of it, which has for its objects the convenience or improvement of the ſtate. It is a well-known fact, that white men ſoon decline labour in the Weſt Indies, and in the ſouthern ſtates, only becauſe the agriculture, and mechanical

employments of thoſe countries, are carried on chiefly by negro ſlaves. But I object further to the employment of criminals on the high-ways and ſtreets, from the idleneſs it will create, by alluring ſpectators from their buſineſs, and thereby depriving the ſtate of greater benefits from the induſtry of its citizens, than it can ever derive from the labour of criminals.

The hiſtory of public puniſhments, in every age and country, is full of facts, which ſupport every principle that has been advanced. What has been the operation of the ſeventy thouſand executions, that have taken place in Great Britain from the year 1688, to the preſent day, upon the morals and manners of the inhabitants of that iſland? Has not every priſon-door that has been opened, to conduct criminals to public ſhame and puniſhment, unlocked, at the ſame time, the bars of moral obligation upon the minds of ten times the number of people? How often do we find pockets picked under a gallows, and highway robberies committed in ſight of a gibbet? From whence aroſe the conſpiracies, with aſſaſſinations and poiſonings, which prevailed in the decline of the Roman empire? Were they not favoured by the public executions of the amphitheatre? It is therefore to the combined operation of indolence, prejudice, ignorance and the defect of culture of the human heart, alone, that we are to aſcribe the continuance of public puniſhments, after ſuch long and multiplied experience of their inefficacy to reform bad men, or to prevent the commiſſion of crimes.

III. Let it not be ſuppoſed, from any thing that has been ſaid, that I wiſh to aboliſh puniſhments. Far from it: I wiſh only to change the place and manner of inflicting them, ſo as to render them effectual for the reformation of criminals, and beneficial to ſociety. Before I propoſe a plan for this purpoſe, I beg leave to deliver the following general axioms:

1ſt. The human mind is diſpoſed to exaggerate every thing that is removed from it, by time or place.

2dly. It is equally diſpoſed to enquire after, and to magnify ſuch things as are ſacred.

3dly. It always aſcribes the extremes in qualities, to things that are unknown; and an exceſs in duration, to indefinite time.

4thly. Certain and definite evil, by being long contemplated, ceaſes to be dreaded or avoided. A ſoldier ſoon loſes, from habit the fear of death in battle; but retains, in common with other people, the terror of death from ſickneſs or drowning.

5thly. An attachment to kindred and ſociety is one of the ſtrongeſt feelings of the human heart. A ſepeparation from them, therefore has ever been conſidered as one of the ſevereſt puniſhments that can be inflicted upon man.

6thly. Perſonal liberty is ſo dear to all men, that the loſs of it, for an indefinite time, is a puniſhment ſo ſevere, that death has often been preferred to it.

Theſe axioms being admitted (for they cannot be controverted) I ſhall proceed next to apply them, by ſuggeſting a plan for the puniſhment of crimes, which, I flatter myſelf, will anſwer all the ends that have been propoſed by them.

1. Let a large houſe be erected in a convenient part of the ſtate. Let it be divided into a number of apartments, reſerving one large room for public worſhip. Let cells be provided for the ſolitary confinement of ſuch perſons as are of a refractory temper. Let the houſe be ſupplied with the materials, and inſtruments for carrying on ſuch manufactures as can be conducted with the leaſt inſtruction, or previous knowledge. Let a garden adjoin this houſe, in which the culprits may occaſionally work, and walk. This ſpot will have a beneficial effect not only upon health, but morals, for it will lead them to a familiarity with thoſe pure and natural objects which are calculated to renew the connection of fallen man with his creator. Let the name of this houſe convey an idea of its benevolent and ſalutary deſign, but let it by no means be called a priſon, or by ony other name that is aſſociated with what is infamous in the opinion of mankind. Let the direction of this inſtitution be committed to

perſons of eſtabliſhed characters for probity, diſcretion and humanity, who ſhall be amenable at all times to the legiſlature, or courts of the ſtate.

2dly. Let the various kinds of puniſhment, that are to be inflicted on crimes, be defined and fixed by law. But let no notice be taken, in the law, of the puniſhment that awaits any particular crime. By theſe means, we ſhall prevent the mind from accuſtoming itſelf to the view of theſe puniſhmeats, ſo as to deſtroy their terror by habit. The indifference and levity with which ſome men ſuffer the puniſhment of hanging, is often occaſioned by an inſenſibility which is contracted by the frequent anticipation of it, or by the appearance of the gallows ſuggeſting the remembrance of ſcenes of criminal feſtivity, in which it was the ſubject of humour or ridicule. Beſides, puniſhments ſhould always be varied in degree, according to the temper of criminals, or the progreſs of their reformation.

3dly. Let the duration of puniſhments, for all crimes be limitted: but let this limitation be unknown I conceive this ſecret to be of the utmoſt importance in reforming criminals, and preventing crimes. The imagination, when agitated with uncertainty, will ſeldom fail of connecting the longeſt duration of puniſhment, with the ſmalleſt crime.

I cannot conceive any think more calculated to diffuſe terror through a community, and thereby to

prevent crimes, than the combination of the three circumſtances that have been mentioned in puniſhments. Children will preſs upon the evening fire in liſtening to the tales that will be ſpread from this abode of miſery. Superſtition will add to its horrors: and romance will find in it ample materials for fiction, which cannot fail of increaſing the terror of its puniſhments,

Let it not be objected, that the terror produced by the hiſtory of theſe ſecret puniſhments, will operate like the abortive ſympathy I have deſcribed. *Active* ſympathy can be fully excited only through the avenues of the eyes and the ears. Beſides, the recollection that the only deſign of puniſhment is the reformation of the criminal will ſuſpend the action of ſympathy altogether. We liſten with paleneſs to the hiſtory of a tedious and painful operation in ſurgery, without a wiſh to arreſt the hand of the operator. Our ſympathy, which in this caſe is of the *paſſive* kind, is mixed with pleaſure, when we are aſſured, that there is a certainty of the operation being the means of ſaving the life of the ſufferer.

Nor let the expence of erecting and ſupporting a houſe of repentance, for the purpoſes that have been mentioned, deter us from the undertaking. It would be eaſy to demonſtrate, that it will not coſt one fourth as much as the maintenance of the numerous jails that are now neceſſary in every well regulated

ſtate. But why ſhould receptacles be provided and ſupported at an immenſe expenſe, in every country, for the relief of perſons afflicted with bodily diſorders, and an objection be made to providing a place for the cure of the diſeaſes of the mind?

The nature—degrees—and duration of the puniſhments, ſhould all be determined beyond a certain degree, by a court properly conſtituted for that purpoſe, and whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be to viſit the receptacle for criminals once or twice a year.

I am aware of the prejudices of freemen, againſt entruſting power to a diſcretionary court. But let it be remembered, that no power is committed to this court, but what is poſſeſſed by the different courts of juſtice in all free countries; nor ſo much as is now wiſely and neceſſarily poſſeſſed by the ſupreme and inferior courts, in the execution of the penal laws of Pennſylvania. I ſhall ſpend no time in defending the conſiſtency of private puniſhments, with a ſafe and free government. Truth, upon this ſubject, cannot be divided. If public puniſhments are injurious to criminals and to ſociety, it follows that crimes ſhould be puniſhed in private, or not puniſhed at all. There is no alternative. The oppoſition to private puniſhments, therefore is founded altogether in prejudice, or in ignorance of the true principles of liberty.

The ſafety and advantages of private puniſhments, will appear, further, when I add, that the beſt governed families and ſchools are thoſe, in which the faults of ſervants and children are rebuked privately, and where confinement and ſolitude are preferred for correction, to the uſe of the rod.

In order to render theſe puniſhments effectual, they ſhould be accommodated to the conſtitutions and tempers of the criminals, and the peculiar nature of their crimes. Peculiar attention ſhould be paid, likewiſe, in the nature, degrees, and duration of puniſhments, to crimes, as they ariſe from paſſion, habit or temptation.

The puniſhments, ſhould conſiſt of bodily pain, labour, watchfulneſs, ſolitude, and ſilence. They ſhould all be joined with cleanlineſs and a ſimple diet. To aſcertain the nature, degrees, and duration of the bodily pain, will require ſome knowledge of the principles of ſenſation, and of the ſympathies which occur in the nervous ſyſtem. The labour ſhould be ſo regulated and directed, as to be profitable to the ſtate. Beſides employing criminals in laborious and uſeful manufactures, they may be compelled to derive all their ſubſiſtance from a farm and a garden, cultivated by their own hands, adjoining the place of their confinement.

Theſe puniſhments may be uſed ſeparately, or more or leſs combined, according to the nature of the crimes,

or according to the variations of the conſtitution and temper of the criminals. In the application of them, the utmoſt poſſible advantages ſhould be taken of the laws of the aſſociation of ideas, of habit, and of imitation.

To render theſe phyſical remedies more effectual they ſhould be accompanied by regular inſtruction in the principles and obligations of religion, by perſons appointed for that purpoſe.

Thus far I am ſupported, in the application of the remedies I have mentioned, for the cure of crimes, by the facts contained in Mr. Howard's hiſtory of priſons, and by other obſervations. It remains yet to preſcribe the *ſpecific* puniſhment that is proper for each *ſpecific* crime. Here my ſubject begins to oppreſs me. I have no more doubt of every crime having its cure in moral and phyſical influence, than I have of the efficacy of the Peruvian bark in curing the intermitting fever. The only difficulty is, to find out the proper remedy or remedies for particular vices. Mr Dufriche de Valaye, in his elaborate treatiſe upon penal laws, has performed the office of a pioneer upon this difficult ſubject. He has divided crimes into claſſes; and has affixed puniſhments to each of them, in a number of ingenious tables. Some of the connections he has eſtabliſhed, between crimes and puniſhments, appear to be juſt. But many of his puniſhments are contrary to the firſt principles of action in man;

and all of them are, in my opinion, improper, as far as he orders them to be inflicted in the *eye* of the *public*. His attempt, however, is laudable, and deſerves the praiſe of every friend to mankind.

If the invention of a machine for facilitating labour, has been repaid with the gratitude of a country, how much more will that man deſerve, who ſhall invent the moſt ſpeedy and effectual methods of reſtoring the vicious part of mankind to virtue and happineſs, and of extirpating a portion of vice from the world? Happy condition of human affairs! when humanity, philoſophy and chriſtianity, ſhall unite their influence to teach men, that they are brethren; and to prevent their preying any longer upon each other! Happy citizens of the United States, whoſe governments permit them to adopt every diſcovery in the moral or intellectual world, that leads to theſe benevolent purpoſes!

Let it not be objected, that it will be impoſſible for men, who have expiated their offences by the mode of puniſhment that has been propoſed, to recover their former connections with ſociety. This objection ariſes from an unfortunate aſſociation of ideas. The infamy of criminals is derived, not ſo much from the remembrance of their crimes, as from the recollection of the ignominy of their puniſhments. Crimes produce a ſtain, which may be waſhed out by reformation, and which frequently wears away by time; but public

puniſhments leave ſcars which disfigure the whole character; and hence perſons, who have ſuffered them, are ever afterwards viewed with horror or averſion. If crimes were expiated by private diſcipline, and ſucceeded by reformation, criminals would probably ſuffer no more in character from them, than men ſuffer in their reputation or uſefulneſs from the puniſhments they have undergone when boys at ſchool.

I am ſo perfectly ſatisfied of the truth of this opinion, that methinks I already hear the inhabitants of our villages and townſhips counting the years that ſhall complete the reformation of one of their citizens. I behold them running to meet him on the day of his deliverance. His friends and family bathe his cheeks with tears of joy; and the univerſal ſhout of the neigbourhood is, "This our brother was loſt, and is found—was dead and is alive."

It has long been a deſideratum in government, that there ſhould exiſt in it no pardoning power, ſince the *certainty* of puniſhment operates ſo much more than its ſeverity, or infamy, in preventing crimes. But where puniſhments are exceſſive in degree, or infamous from being public, a pardoning power is abſolutely neceſſary. Remove their ſeverity and public infamy, and a pardoning power ceaſes to be neceſſary in a code of criminal juriſprudence. Nay, further—it is ſuch a defect in penal laws, as in ſome meaſure defeats every invention to prevent crimes, or to cure habits of vice.

If punishments were moderate, just, and private, they would exalt the feelings of public justice and benevolence so far above the emotions of humanity in witnesses, juries and judges, that they would forget to conceal, or to palliate crimes; and the *certainty* of punishment, by extinguishing all hope of pardon in the criminal, would lead him to connect the beginning of his repentance with the last words of his sentence of condemnation. To obtain this great and salutary end, there should exist *certain* portions of punishment, both in duration and degree, which should be placed by law beyond the power of the discretionary court before mentioned, to shorten or mitigate.

I have said nothing upon the manner of inflicting death as a punishment for crimes, because I consider it as an improper punishment for *any* crime. Even murder itself is propagated by the punishment of death for murder. Of this we have a remarkable proof in Italy. The duke of Tuscany soon after the publication of the marquis of Beccaria's excellent treatise upon this subject, abolished death as a punishment for murder. A gentleman, who resided five years at Pisa, informed me, that only five murders had been perpetrated in his dominions in twenty years. The same gentleman added, that after his residence in Tuscany, he spent three months in Rome, where death is still the punishment of murder, and where executions, according to Dr. Moore, are conducted with peculiar circumstances of public parade. Du-

ring this ſhort period, there were ſixty murders committed in the precincts of that city. It is remarkable, the manners, principles, and religion, of the inhabitants of Tuſcany and Rome, are exactly the ſame. The abolition of death alone, as a puniſhment for murder, produced this difference in the moral character of the two nations.

I ſuſpect the attachment to death, as a puniſhment for murder, in minds otherwiſe enlightened, upon the ſubject of capital puniſhments, ariſes from a falſe interpretation of a paſſage contained in the old teſtament, and that is, "he that ſheds the blood of man, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed." This has been ſuppoſed to imply that blood could only be expiated by blood. But I am diſpoſed to believe, with a late commentator* upon this text of ſcripture, that it is rather a *prediction* than a *law*. The language of it is ſimply, that ſuch will be the depravity and folly of man, that murder, in every age, ſhall beget murder. Laws, therefore, which inflict death for murder, are, in my opinion, as unchriſtian as thoſe which juſtify or tolerate revenge; for the obligations of chriſtianity upon individuals, to promote repentance, to forgive injuries, and to diſcharge the duties of univerſal benevolence, are equally binding upon ſtates.

The power over human life, is the ſole prerogative of him who gave it. Human laws, therefore,

* The reverend Mr. William Turner, in the ſecond vol. of Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society of Manchester.

riſe in rebellion againſt this prerogative, when they transfer it to human hands.

If ſociety can be ſecured from violence, by confining the murderer, ſo as to prevent a repetition of his crime, the end of extirpation will be anſwered. In confinement, he may be reformed: and if this ſhould prove impracticable, he may be reſtrained for a term of years, that will probably, be coeval with his life.

There was a time, when the puniſhment of captives with death or ſervitude, and the indiſcriminate deſtruction of peaceable huſbandmen, women, and children, were thought to be eſſential, to the ſucceſs of war, and the ſafety of ſtates. But experience has taught us, that this is not the caſe. And in proportion as humanity has triumphed over theſe maxims of falſe policy, wars have been leſs frequent and terrible, and nations have enjoyed longer intervals of internal tranquility. The virtues are all parts of a circle. Whatever is humane, is wiſe—whatever is wiſe, is juſt—and whatever is wiſe, juſt, and humane, will be found to be the true intereſt of ſtates, whether criminals or foreign enemies are the objects of their legiſlation.

I have taken no notice of perpetual baniſhment, as a legal puniſhment, as I conſider it the next in degree, in folly and cruelty, to the puniſhment of death. If the receptacle for criminals, which has been pro-

poſed, is erected in a remote part of the ſtate, it will act with the ſame force upon the feelings of the human heart, as perpetual baniſhment. Exile, when perpetual, by deſtroying one of the moſt powerful principles of action in man, viz. the love of kindred and country, deprives us of all the advantages, which might be derived from it, in the buſineſs of reformation. While certain paſſions are weakened, this noble paſſion is ſtrengthened by age: hence, by preſerving this paſſion alive, we furniſh a principle, which, in time may become an overmatch for thoſe vicious habits, which ſeparated criminals from their friends and from ſociety.

Notwithſtanding this teſtimony againſt the puniſhment of death and perpetual baniſhment, I cannot help adding, that there is more mercy to the criminal, and leſs injury done to ſociety, by both of them, than by *public* infamy and pain, without them.

The great art of ſurgery has been ſaid to conſiſt in ſaving, not in deſtroying, or amputating the diſeaſed parts of the human body. Let governments learn to imitate, in this reſpect, the ſkill and humanity of the healing art. Nature knows no waſte in any of her operations. Even putrefaction itſelf is the parent of uſeful productions to man. Human ingenuity imitates nature in a variety of arts. Offal maters, of all kinds, are daily converted into the means of increaſing the profits of induſtry, and the pleaſures of human life.

The ſoul of man alone, with all its moral and intellectual powers, when miſled by paſſion, is abandoned, by the ignorance or cruelty of man, to unprofitable corruption, or extirpation.

A worthy prelate of the church of England once ſaid upon ſeeing a criminal led to execution, "There goes my wicked ſelf." Conſidering the vices to which the frailty of human nature expoſes whole families of every rank and claſs in life, it becomes us, whenever we ſee a fellow creature led to public infamy and pain, to add further. "There goes my unhappy father, my unhappy brother, or my unhappy ſon," and afterwards to aſk ourſelves, whether *private* puniſhments are not to be preferred to *public*.

For the honour of humanity it can be ſaid, that in every age and country, there have been found perſons in whom uncorrupted nature has triumphed over cuſtom and law. Elſe, why do we hear of houſes being abandoned near to places of public execution? Why do we ſee doors and windows ſhut on the days or hours of criminal exhibitions? Why do we hear of aid being ſecretly afforded to criminals, to mitigate or elude the ſeverity of their puniſhments? Why is the public executioner of the law an object of ſuch general deteſtation? Theſe things are latent ſtruggles of reaſon, or rather the ſecret voice of God himſelf, ſpeaking in the human heart, againſt the folly and cruelty of public puniſhment.

I ſhall conclude this enquiry by obſerving, that the ſame falſe religion and philoſophy, which once kindled the fire on the alter of perſecution, now doom the criminal to public ignominy and death. In proportion as the principles of philoſophy and chriſtianity are underſtood, they will agree in extinguiſhing the one, and deſtroying the other. If theſe principles continue to extend their influence upon government, as they have done for ſome years paſt, I cannot help entertaining a hope, that the time is not very diſtant, when the gallows, the pillory, the ſtocks, the whipping-poſt and the wheel-barrow, (the uſual engines of public puniſhments) will be connected with the hiſtory of the rack and the ſtake, as marks of the barbarity of ages and countries, and as melancholy proofs of the feeble operation of reaſon and religion upon the human mind.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CONSISTENCY OF THE PUNISHMENT OF MURDER BY DEATH, WITH REASON AND REVELATION.

I. THE Puniſhment of Murder by Death, is contrary to *reaſon*, and to the order and happineſs of ſociety.

1. It leſſens the horror of taking away human life, and thereby tends to multiply murders.

2. It produces murder by its influence upon people who are tired of life, and who, from a ſuppoſition that murder is a leſs crime than ſuicide, deſtroy a life (and often that of a near connection) and afterwards deliver themſelves up to the laws of their country, that they may eſcape from their miſery by means of a halter.

3. The puniſhment of murder by death multiplies murders, from the difficulty it creates of convicting perſons who are guilty of it. Humanity, revolting at the idea of the ſeverity and certainty of a capital puniſhment, often ſteps in, and collects ſuch evidence in favour of a murderer, as ſcreens him from death altogether, or palliates his crime into manſlaughter. Even the law itſelf favours the acquital of a murderer

by making the circumſtance of premeditation and malice, neceſſary to render the offence, a capital crime. Mr. Townſend tells us in his travels into Spain* that ſeventy murders were perpetrated in Malaga in the 16 months which preceeded his viſit to that city, all of which eſcaped with impunity, and probably from the cauſes which have been mentioned. If the puniſhment of murder conſiſted in long confinement, and hard labour, it would be proportioned to the meaſure of our feelings of juſtice, and every member of ſociety would be a watchman, or a magiſtrate, to apprehend a deſtroyer of human life, and to bring him to puniſhment.

4. The puniſhment of murder by death checks the operations of univerſal juſtice, by preventing the puniſhment of every ſpecies of murder.

5. The puniſhment of murder by death has been proved to be contrary to the order and happineſs of ſociety, by the experiments of ſome of the wiſeſt legiſlators in Europe. The Empreſs of Ruſia, the King of Sweden, and the Duke of Tuſcany, have nearly extirpated murder from their dominions, by converting its puniſhments into the means of benefiting ſociety, and reforming the criminals who perpetrate it.

II. The puniſhment of murder by death is contrary to *divine revelation.* A religion which commands

* Vol. 3.

us to forgive, and even to do good to, our enemies, can never authoriſe the puniſhment of murder by death. "Vengence is mine," ſaid the Lord; "I will repay." It is to no purpoſe to ſay here, that this vengeance it taken out of the hands of an individual, and directed againſt the criminal by the hand of government. It is equally an uſurpation of the prerogative of heaven, whether it be inflicted by a ſingle perſon, or by a whole community.

Here I expect to meet with an appeal from the letter and ſpirit of the goſpel, to the law of Moſes, which declares, "he that killeth a man ſhall be put to death." Forgive, indulgent heaven! the ignorance and cruelty of man, which, by the miſapplication of this text of ſcripture, has ſo long and ſo often ſtained the religion of Jeſus Chriſt with folly and revenge.

The following conſiderations, I hope, will prove that no argument can be deduced from this law, to juſtify the puniſhment of murder by death;—on the contrary, that ſeveral arguments againſt it, may be derived from a juſt and rational explanation of that part of the Levitical inſtitutions.

1. There are many things in ſcripture above, but nothing contrary to, reaſon. Now, the puniſhment of murder by death, is contrary to reaſon. It cannot, therefore, be agreeable to the will of God.

2. The order and happineſs of ſociety cannot fail of being agreeable to the will of God. But the puniſhment of murder by death, deſtroys the order and happineſs of ſociety. It muſt therefore be contrary to the will of God.

3. Many of the laws given by Moſes, were accommodated to the ignorance, wickedneſs, and "hardneſs "of heart," of the Jews. Hence their divine legiſlator expreſsly ſays, "I gave them ſtatutes that were "not good, and judgments whereby they ſhould not live." Of this, the law which reſpects divorces, and the law of retaliation, which required, "an eye for "an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," are remarkable inſtances.

But we are told, that the puniſhment of murder by death, is founded not only on the law of Moſes, but upon a poſitive precept given to Noah and his poſterity, that "whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed," If the interpretation of this text given in a former eſſay* be not admitted, I ſhall attempt to explain it by remarking, that ſoon after the flood, the infancy and weakneſs of ſociety rendered it impoſſible to puniſh murder by confinement. There was therefore no medium between inflicting death upon a murderer, and ſuffering him to eſcape with impunity, and thereby to perpetrate more acts of violence againſt his fellow creatures. It pleaſed God, in this condition of the world, to permit a leſs, in

* Enquiry into the effects of public puniſhments. p. 159.

order to prevent a greater evil. He therefore commits for a while his exclusive power over human life, to his creatures for the safety and preservation of an infant society, which might otherwise have perished, and with it, the only stock of the human race. The command indirectly implies that the crime of murder was not punished by death in the mature state of society which existed before the flood. Nor is this the only instance upon record in the scriptures in which God has delegated his power over human life to his creatures. Abraham expresses no surprise at the command which God gave him to sacrifice his son. He submits to it as a precept founded in reason and natural justice, for nothing could be more obvious, than that the giver of life had a right to claim it, when and in such manner as he pleased. 'Till men are able to give life, it becomes them to tremble at the thought of taking it away. Will a man rob God?—Yes—he robs him of what is infinitely dear to him—of his darling attribute of mercy, every time he deprives a fellow creature of life.

4. If the Mosaic law, with respect to murder, be obligatory upon Christians, it follows that it is equally obligatory upon them to punish adultery, blasphemy and other capital crimes that are mentioned in the Levitical law, by death. Nor is this all: it justifies the extirpation of the Indians, and the enslaving of the Africans; for the command to the Jews to

deſtroy the Canaanites, and to make ſlaves of their heathen neighbours, is as poſitive as the command which declares, "that he that killeth a man, ſhall ſurely be put to death."

5. Every part of the Levitical law, is full of types of the Meſſiah. May not the puniſhment of death, inflicted by it, be intended to repreſent the demerit and conſequences of ſin, as the cities of refuge were the offices of the Meſſiah? And may not the enlargement of murderers who had fled to thoſe cities of refuge, upon the death of a high prieſt, repreſent the eternal abrogation of the law which inflicted death for murder, by the meritorious death of the Saviour of the world?

6. The imperfection and ſeverity of theſe laws were probably intended farther—to illuſtrate the perfection and mildneſs of the goſpel diſpenſation. It is in this manner that God has manifeſted himſelf in many of his acts. He created darkneſs firſt, to illuſtrate by compariſon the beauty of light, and he permits ſin, miſery, and death in the moral world, that he may hereafter diſplay more illuſtriouſly the bleſſings of righteouſneſs, happineſs, and immortal life. This opinion is favoured by St. Paul, who ſays, "the "law made nothing perfect, and that it was a "ſhadow of good things to come."

How delightful to diſcover ſuch an exact harmony between the dictates of reaſon, the order and hap-

pineſs of ſociety, and the precepts of the goſpel! There is a perfect unity in truth. Upon all ſubjects —in all ages—and in all countries—truths of every kind agree with each other. I ſhall now take notice of ſome of the common arguments, which are made uſe of, to defend the puniſhments of murder by death.

1. It has been ſaid, that the common ſenſe of all nations, and particularly of ſavages, is in favour of puniſhing murder by death.

The common ſenſe of all nations is in favour of the commerce and ſlavery of their fellow creatures. But this does not take away from their immorality. Could it be proved that the Indians puniſh murder by death, it would not eſtabliſh the right of man over the life of a fellow creature; for revenge we know in its utmoſt extent is the univerſal and darling paſſion of all ſavage nations. The practice moreover, (if it exiſt) muſt have originated in *neceſſity*: for a people who have no ſettled place of reſidence, and who are averſe from all labour, could reſtrain murder in no other way. But I am diſpoſed to doubt whether the Indians puniſh murder by death among their own tribes. In all thoſe caſes where a life is taken away by an Indian of a foreign tribe, they always demand the ſatisfaction of life for life. But this practice is founded on a deſire of preſerving a balance in their numbers and power; for among nations which conſiſt of only a few warriors, the loſs of an individual

often deſtroys this balance, and thereby expoſes them to war or extermination. It is for the ſame purpoſe of keeping up an equality in numbers and power, that they often adopt captive children into their nations and families. What makes this explanation of the practice of puniſhing murder by death among the Indians more probable, is, that we find the ſame bloody and vindictive ſatisfaction is required of a foreign nation, whether the perſon loſt, be killed by an accident, or premeditated violence. Many facts might be mentioned from travellers to prove that the Indians do not puniſh murder by death within the juriſdiction of their own tribes. I ſhall mention only one, which is taken from the Rev. Mr. John Megapolenſis's account of the Mohawk Indians, lately publiſhed in Mr Hazard's hiſtorical collection of ſtate papers.—"There is no puniſhment, (ſays our author) "here for murder, but every one is his own avenger. "The friends of the deceaſed revenge themſelves "upon the murderer until peace is made with the "next a kin. But although they are ſo cruel, yet "there are not half ſo many murders committed "among them as among Chriſtians, notwithſtanding "their ſevere laws, and heavy penalties."

2. It has been ſaid, that the horrors of a guilty conſcience proclaim the juſtice and neceſſity of death, as a puniſhment for murder. I draw an argument of another nature from this fact. Are the horrors of conſcience the puniſhment that God inflicts upon

murder? Why, then ſhould we ſhorten or deſtroy them by death, eſpecially as we are taught to direct the moſt atrocious murderers to expect pardon in the future world? No, let us not counteract the government of God in the human breaſt: let the murderer live—but let it be to ſuffer the reproaches of a guilty conſcience; let him live, to make compenſation to ſociety for the injury he has done it, by robbing it of a citizen; let him live to maintain the family of the man whom he has murdered; let him live, that the puniſhment of his crime may become univerſal; and, laſtly, let him live, that murder may be extirpated from the liſt of human crimes!

Let us examine the conduct of the moral Ruler of the world towards the firſt murderer.—See Cain, returning from his field, with his hands reeking with the blood of his brother! Do the heavens gather blackneſs, and does a flaſh of lightning blaſt him to the earth? No. Does his father Adam, the natural legiſlator and judge of the world, inflict upon him the puniſhment of death? No. The infinitely wiſe God becomes his judge and executioner. He expels him from the ſociety of which he was a member. He fixes in his conſcience a never dying worm. He ſubjects him to the neceſſity of labour; and to ſecure a duration of his puniſhment, proportioned to his crime, he puts a mark of prohibition upon him, to prevent his being put to death, by weak and angry men; declaring, at the ſame time, that "whoſoever ſlayeth

" Cain, vengeance ſhall be taken on him ſeven-
" fold.

But further, if a neceſſary connection exiſted between the crime of murder and death in the mind and laws of the Deity, how comes it that Moſes and David eſcaped it? They both imbrued their hands in innocent blood, and yet the horrors of a guilty conſcience were their only puniſhment. The ſubſequent conduct of thoſe two great and good men, proves that the heart may retain a ſound part after committing murder, and that even murderers, after repentance, may be the vehicles of great temporal and ſpiritual bleſſings to mankind.

3. The declaration of St. Paul before Feſtus, reſpecting the puniſhment of death,* and the ſpeech of the dying thief on the croſs,† are ſaid to prove the lawfulneſs of puniſhing murder by death: but they prove only that the puniſhment of death was agreeable to the Roman law. Human life was extremely cheap under the Roman government. Of this we need no further proof than the head of John the Baptiſt forming a part of a royal entertainment. From the frequency of public executions, among thoſe people, the *ſword* was conſidered as an emblem of public juſtice. But to

* " For if I be an offender, and have committed any thing worthy of
" death, I refuſe not to die."——Acts xxv. and 11.

† " We indeed" ſuffer " *juſtly*, for we receive the due reward of our
"deeds."——Luke xxiii. and 41.

ſuppoſe, from the appeals which are ſometimes made to it as a ſign of juſtice, that capital puniſhments are approved of in the New Teſtament, is as abſurd as it would be to ſuppoſe that horſe-racing was a chriſtian exerciſe, from St. Paul's frequent alluſions to the Olympic games.

The declaration of the barbarians upon ſeeing the ſnake faſten upon St. Paul's hand, proves nothing but the ignorance of thoſe uncivilized people ;—" and " when the barbarians ſaw the venomous beaſt hang on " his hand, they ſaid among themſelves, no doubt this " man is a murderer, whom, though he hath eſcaped " the ſea, yet vengeance ſuffereth not to live."—Acts xvii. and 4th.

Here it will be proper to diſtinguiſh between the ſenſe of juſtice ſo univerſal among all nations, and an approbation of death as a puniſhment for murder. The former is written by the finger of God upon every human heart, but like his own attribute of juſtice, it has the happineſs of individuals and of ſociety for its objects. It is always miſled, when it ſeeks for ſatisfaction in puniſhments that are injurious to ſociety, or that are diſproportioned to crimes. The ſatisfaction of this univerſal ſenſe of juſtice by the puniſhments of impriſonment and labour, would far exceed that which is derived from the puniſhment of death; for it would be of longer duration, and it would more frequently occur; for, upon a principle

formerly mentioned, ſcarcely any ſpecies of murder would eſcape with impuuity.‡

The conduct and diſcourſes of our Saviour ſhould outweigh every argument that has been or can be offered in favour of capital puniſhment for any crime. When the woman caught in adultery was brought to him, he evaded inflicting the bloody ſentence of the Jewiſh law upon her. Even the *maiming* of the body appears to be offenſive in his ſight; for when Peter drew his ſword, and ſmote off the ear of the ſervant of the high prieſt, he replaced it by miracle, and at the ſame time declared, that "all they who take the "ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword." He forgave the crime of murder, on his croſs; and after his reſurrection, he commanded his diſciples to preach the goſpel of forgiveneſs, *firſt* at Jeruſalem, where he well knew his murderers ſtill reſided. Theſe ſtriking facts are recorded for our imitation, and ſeem intended to ſhew that the Son of God died, not only to reconcile God to man, but to reconcile men to each other. There is one paſſage more, in the hiſtory of our Saviour's life which would of itſelf overſet the

‡ A ſcale of puniſhments, by means of impriſonment and labour, might eaſily be contrived, ſo as to be accomodated to the different degrees of atrocity in murder. For example—for the firſt or higheſt degree of guilt, let the puniſhment be ſolitude and darkneſs, and a total *want* of employment. For the ſecond, ſolitude and labour, with the benefit of light. For the third, confinement and labour. The *duration* of theſe puniſhments ſhould likewiſe be governed by the atrocity of the murder, and by the ſigns of contrition and amendment in the criminal.

juſtice of the puniſhment of death for murder, if every other part of the Bible had been ſilent upon the ſubject. When two of his diſciples, actuated by the ſpirit of vindictive legiſlators, requeſted permiſſion of him to call down fire from Heaven to conſume the inhoſpitable Samaritans, he anſwered them "The "Son of Man is not come to *deſtroy* men's *lives* but "to ſave them." I wiſh theſe words compoſed the motto of the arms of every nation upon the face of the earth. They inculcate every duty that is calculated to preſerve, reſtore, or prolong human life. They militate alike againſt war—and capital puniſhments—the objects of which, are the unprofitable deſtruction of the lives of men. How precious does a human life appear from theſe words, in the ſight of heaven! Pauſe, Legiſlators, when you give your votes for inflicting the puniſhment of death for any crime You fruſtrate in one inſtance, the deſign of the miſſion of the Son of God into the world, and thereby either deny his appearance in the fleſh, or reject the truth of his goſpel. You, moreover, ſtrengthen by your conduct the arguments of the Deiſts againſt the particular doctrines of the Chriſtian revelation. You do more, you preſerve a bloody fragment of the Jewiſh inſtitutions.—"The Son of "Man came not to *deſtroy* men's lives, but to *ſave* "them." Excellent words! I require no others to ſatisfy me of the truth and divine original of the Chriſtian religion; and while I am able to place a finger, upon this text of ſcripture, I will not believe an angel

from heaven, ſhould he declare that the puniſhment of death, for *any* crime, was inculcated, or permitted by the ſpirit of the goſpel.

The precious nature of human life in the eyes of the Saviour of mankind, appears further in the comparative value which he has placed upon it in the following words.* "For what is a man profited, if he ſhall gain the whole world, & loſe his life, or what ſhall a man give in exchange for his *life*." I have rejected the word *ſoul* which is uſed in the common tranſlation of this verſe. The original word in the Greek, ſignifies *life*, and it is thus happily and juſtly tranſlated in the verſe which precedes it.

4. It has been ſaid, that a man who has committed a murder, has diſcovered a malignity of heart, that renders him ever afterwards unfit to live in human ſociety. This is by no means true in many, and perhaps in moſt of the caſes of murder. It is moſt frequently the effect of a ſudden guſt of paſſion, and has ſometimes been the only ſtain of a well-ſpent, or inoffenſive life. There are many crimes which unfit a man much more for human ſociety, than a ſingle murder; and there have been inſtances of murderers, who have eſcaped, or bribed the laws of their country, who have afterwards become peaceable and uſeful members of ſociety. Let it not be ſuppoſed that I

* Matthew, x. v. 26.

wiſh to palliate, by this remark, the enormity of murder. Far from it. It is only becauſe I view murder with ſuch ſuperlative horror, that I wiſh to deprive our laws of the power of perpetuating and encouraging it.

It has been ſaid, that the confeſſions of murderers have, in many inſtances, ſanctioned the juſtice of their puniſhment. I do not wiſh to leſſen the influence of ſuch vulgar errors as tend to prevent crimes, but I will venture to declare, that many more murderers eſcape diſcovery, than are detected, or puniſhed.—Were I not afraid of treſpaſſing upon the patience of my readers, I might mention a number of facts, in which circumſtances of the moſt trifling nature have become the means of detecting theft and forgery; from which I could draw as ſtrong proofs of the watchfulneſs of Providence over the property of individuals, and the order of ſociety, as have been drawn from the detection of murder. I might mention inſtances, likewiſe, of perſons in whom conſcience has produced reſtitution for ſtolen goods, or confeſſion of the juſtice of the puniſhment which was inflicted for theft. Conſcience and knowledge always keep pace with each other, both with reſpect to divine and human laws.

The acquieſcence of murderers in the juſtice of their execution, is the effect of prejudice and education. It cannot flow from a conſcience acting in

concert with reaſon or religion—for they both ſpeak a very different language.

The world has certainly undergone a material change for the better within the laſt two hundred years. This change has been produced chiefly, by the ſecret and unacknowledged influence of Chriſtianity upon the hearts of men. It is agreeable to trace the effects of the Chriſtian religion in the extirpation of ſlavery—in the diminution of the number of capital puniſhments, and in the mitigation of the horrors of war. There was a time when maſters poſſeſſed a power over the lives of their ſlaves. But Chriſtianity has depoſed this power, and mankind begin to ſee every where that ſlavery is alike contrary to the intereſts of ſociety, and the ſpirit of the goſpel. There was a time when torture was part of the puniſhment of death, and when the number of capital crimes in Great Britain, amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one.—Chriſtianity has aboliſhed the former, and reduced the latter to not more than ſix or ſeven. It has done more. It has confined, in ſome inſtances, capital puniſhments to the crime of murder—and in ſome countries it has aboliſhed it altogether. The influence of Chriſtianity upon the modes of war, has ſtill been more remarkable. It is agreeable to trace its progreſs.

1ſt. In reſcuing women and children from being the objects of the deſolations of war, in common with men.

2dly. In preventing the deſtruction of captives taken in battle, in cold blood.

3dly. In protecting the peaceable huſbandman from ſharing in the carnage of war.

4thly. In producing an exchange of priſoners, inſtead of dooming them to perpetual ſlavery.

5thly. In avoiding the invaſion or deſtruction, in certain caſes, of private property.

6thly. In declaring all wars to be unlawful but ſuch as are purely defenſive.

This is the only tenure by which war now holds its place among Chriſtians. It requires but litle ingenuity to prove that a defenſive war cannot be carried on ſucceſsfully without offenſive operations. Already the princes and nations of the world diſcover the ſtruggles of opinion or conſcience in their preparations for war. Witneſs the many national diſputes which have been lately terminated in Europe by negociation, or mediation. Witneſs too, the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of the United States without force or bloodſhed. Theſe events indicate an improving ſtate of human affairs. They lead us to look forward with expectation to the time, when the weapons of war ſhall be changed into implements of huſbandry, and when rapine and violence ſhall be no more. Theſe events are the promiſed fruits of the goſpel. If they do not come to paſs, the prophets

have deceived us. But if they do—war muſt be as contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, as fraud, or murder, or any other of the vices which are reproved or extirpated by it.

P. S. Since the publication of this eſſay and the preceeding one, the Author has had the pleaſure of ſeeing his principles reduced to practice in the State of Pennſylvania, in the abolition of the puniſhment of death for all crimes, (the higheſt degree of murder excepted) and in private puniſhments being ſubſtituted to thoſe which were public. The effects of this reformation in the penal laws of our ſtate have been, a remarkable diminution of crimes of all kinds, and a great encreaſe of convictions in a given number of offenders. The expenſes of the houſe appropriated to the puniſhment of criminals have been more than defrayed by the profits of their labor. Many of them have been reformed, and become uſeful members of ſociety, and very few have relapſed into former habits of vice.

The Author is happy in adding, that a reformation in the penal laws of the ſtates of New York and New Jerſey has taken place, nearly ſimilar to that which has been mentioned, in Pennſylvania.

It would be an act of injuſtice in this place not to acknowledge that the principles contained in the foregoing eſſays, would probably have never been realized, had they not been ſupported and enforced by the elo-

quence of the late William Bradford Esq. and the zeal of Caleb Lownes. To both these gentlemen, humanity and reason owe great obligations. Mr. Lownes has demonstrated by facts, the success of schemes of philanthrophy, once deemed visionary and impracticable. His plans for employing, and reforming his unfortunate fellow creatures in the Philadelphia prison, discover great knowledge of the œconomy of the body, and of the principles of action in the mind. To comprehend fully the ingenuity and benevolence of these plans, it will be necessary to visit the prison. There science and religion exhibit a triumph over vice and misery, infinitely more sublime and affecting, than all the monuments of ancient conquests. It is thus the father of the human race has decreed the ultimate extermination of all evil, *viz.* by manifestations of love to his fallen creatures. For the details of the discipline, order, products of labor, &c. of this prison, the reader is referred to two elegant pamphlets, the one by Mr. De Liancourt, of France, the other by Mr. Turnbull of South Carolina.

July, 4 1797.

A PLAN OF A PEACE-OFFICE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

AMONG the defects which have been pointed out in the federal conſtitution by its antifederal enemies, it is much to be lamented that no perſon has taken notice of its total ſilence upon the ſubject of an office of the utmoſt importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an *office* for promoting and preſerving perpetual *peace* in our country.

It is to be hoped that no objection will be made to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an office, while we are engaged in a war with the Indians, for as the *War-Office* of the United States was eſtabliſhed in the *time of peace*, it is equally reaſonable that a *Peace-Office* ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the *time of war*.

The plan of this office is as follows:

I. Let a Secretary of the Peace be appointed to preſide in this office, who ſhall be perfectly free from all the preſent abſurd and vulgar European prejudices upon the ſubject of government; let him be a genuine republican and a ſincere Chriſtian, for the principles of republicaniſm and Chriſtianity are no leſs friendly to univerſal and perpetual peace, than they are to univerſal and equal liberty.

II. Let a power be given to this Secretary to eſtabliſh and maintain free-ſchools in every city, village and townſhip of the United States; and let him be made reſponſible for the talents, principles, and morals, of all his ſchoolmaſters. Let the youth of our country be carefully inſtructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and in the doctrines of a religion of ſome kind: the Chriſtian religion ſhould be preferred to all others; for it belongs to this religion excluſively to teach us not only to cultivate peace with men, but to forgive, nay more—to love our very enemies. It belongs to it further to teach us that the Supreme Being alone poſſeſſes a power to take away human life, and that we rebel againſt his laws, whenever we undertake to execute death in any way whatever upon any of his creatures.

III. Let every family in the United States be furniſhed at the public expenſe, by the Secretary of this office, with a copy of an American edition of the BIBLE. This meaſure has become the more neceſſary in our country, ſince the baniſhment of the bible, as a ſchool-book, from moſt of the ſchools in the United States. Unleſs the price of this book be paid for by the public, there is reaſon to fear that in a few years it will be met with only in courts of juſtice or in magiſtrates' offices; and ſhould the abſurd mode of eſtabliſhing truth by kiſſing this ſacred book fall into diſuſe, it may probably, in the courſe of the next

generation, be ſeen only as a curioſity on a ſhelf in a public muſeum.

IV. Let the following ſentence be inſcribed in letters of gold over the doors of every State and Court houſe in the United States.

THE SON OF MAN CAME INTO THE WORLD, NOT TO DESTROY MEN'S LIVES, BUT TO SAVE THEM.

V. To inſpire a veneration for human life, and an horror at the ſhedding of human blood, let all thoſe laws be repealed which authoriſe juries, judges, ſheriffs, or hangmen to aſſume the reſentments of individuals and to commit murder in cold blood in any caſe whatever. Until this reformation in our code of penal juriſprudence takes place, it will be in vain to attempt to introduce univerſal and perpetual peace in our country.

VI. To ſubdue that paſſion for war, which education, added to human depravity, have made univerſal, a familiarity with the inſtruments of death, as well as all military ſhows, ſhould be carefully avoided. For which reaſon, militia laws ſhould every where be repealed, and military dreſſes and military titles ſhould be laid aſide: reviews tend to leſſen the horrors of a battle by connecting them with the charms of order; militia laws generate idleneſs and vice, and thereby produce the wars they are ſaid to prevent; military dreſſes faſcinate the minds

of young men, and lead them from ſerious and uſeful profeſſions; were there no *uniforms*, there would probably be no armies; laſtly, military titles feed vanity, and keep up ideas in the mind which leſſen a ſenſe of the folly and miſeries of war.

VII. In the laſt place, let a large room, adjoining the federal hall, be appropriated for tranſacting the buſineſs and preſerving all the records of this *office*. Over the door of this room let there be a ſign, on which the figures of a LAMB, a DOVE and an OLIVE BRANCH ſhould be painted, together with the following inſcriptions in letters of gold:

PEACE ON EARTH—GOOD-WILL TO MAN.

AH! WHY WILL MEN FORGET THAT THEY ARE BRETHREN?

Within this apartment let there be a collection of ploughſhares and pruning-hooks made out of ſwords and ſpears; and on each of the walls of the apartment, the following pictures as large as the life:

1. A lion eating ſtraw with an ox, and an adder playing upon the lips of a child.

2. An Indian boiling his veniſon in the ſame pot with a citizen of Kentucky.

3. Lord Cornwallis and Tippoo Saib, under the ſhade of a ſycamore-tree in the Eaſt Indies, drinking Madeira wine together out of the ſame decanter.

4. A group of French and Auſtrian ſoldiers dancing arm and arm, under a bower erected in the neighbourhood of Mons.

5. A St. Domingo planter, a man of color, and a native of Africa, legiſlating together in the ſame colonial aſſembly.†

To complete the entertainment of this delightful apartment, let a group of young ladies, clad in white robes, aſſemble every day at a certain hour, in a gallery to be erected for the purpoſe, and ſing odes, and hymns, and anthems in praiſe of the bleſſings of peace.

One of theſe ſongs ſhould conſiſt of the following lines.

> Peace o'er the world her olive wand extends,
> And white-rob'd innocence from heaven deſcends;
> All crimes ſhall ceaſe, and ancient frauds ſhall fail,
> Returning juſtice lifts aloft her ſcale.

In order more deeply to affect the minds of the citizens of the United States with the bleſſings of peace, by *contraſting* them with the evils of war, let the following inſcriptions be painted upon the ſign, which is placed over the door of the War Office.

1. An office for butchering the human ſpecies.

2. A Widow and Orphan making office.

† At the time of writing this, there exiſted wars between the United States and the American Indians, between the Britiſh nation and Tippoo Saib, between the planters of St Domingo and their African ſlaves, and between the French nation and the emperor of Germany.

3. A broken bone making office.

4. A Wooden leg making office.

5. An office for creating public and private vices.

6. An office for creating a public debt.

7. An office for creating ſpeculators, ſtock Jobbers, and Bankrupts.

8. An office for creating famine.

9 An office for creating peſtilential diſeaſes.

10. An office for creating poverty, and the deſtruction of liberty, and national happineſs.

In the lobby of this office let there be painted repreſentations of all the common military inſtruments of death, alſo human ſkulls, broken bones, unburied and putrifying dead bodies, hoſpitals crouded with ſick and wounded Soldiers, villages on fire, mothers in beſieged towns eating the fleſh of their children, ſhips ſinking in the ocean, rivers dyed with blood, and extenſive plains without a tree or fence, or any other object, but the ruins of deſerted farm houſes.

Above this group of woeful figures,—let the following words be inſerted, in red characters to repreſent human blood,

"NATIONAL GLORY."

Information to Europeans who are disposed to migrate to the United States of America. In a letter to a friend in Great Britain.

AGREEABLY to your requeſt contained in your letter of the 29th of Auguſt, 1789, I have at laſt ſat down to communicate ſuch facts to you, upon the ſubject of migration to this country, as have been the reſult of numerous enquiries and obſervation. I am aware that this ſubject has been handled in a maſterly manner by Doctor Franklin, in his excellent little pamplet, entitled "Advice to thoſe who would wiſh "to remove to America," but as that valuable little work is very general, and as many important changes have occurred in the affairs of the United States ſince its publication, I ſhall endeavour to comply with your wiſhes, by adding ſuch things as have been omitted by the Doctor, and ſhall accommodate them to the preſent ſtate of our country.

I ſhall begin this letter by mentioning the deſcriptions of people, who ought not to come to America.

I. Men of independent fortunes who can exiſt only in company, and who can converſe only upon public amuſements, ſhould not think of ſettling in the United States. I have known ſeveral men of that character in this country, who have rambled from State

to State, complaining of the dulneſs of each of them, and who have finally returned and renewed their former connexions and pleaſures in Europe.

II. Literary men, who have no profeſſional purſuits, will often languiſh in America, from the want of ſociety. Our authors and ſcholars are generally men of buſineſs, and make their literary purſuits ſubſervient to their intereſts. A lounger in book ſtores, breakfaſting parties for the purpoſe of literary converſation, and long attic evenings, are as yet but little known in this country. Our companies are generally mixed, and converſation in them is a medley of ideas upon all ſubjects. They begin as in England with the weather —ſoon run into politics —now and then diverge into literature—and commonly conclude with facts relative to commerce, manufactures and agriculture, and the beſt means of acquiring and improving an eſtate. Men, who are philoſophers or poets, without other purſuits, had better end their days in an old country.

III. The United States as yet afford but little encouragement to the profeſſers of moſt of the fine arts. Painting and ſculpture flouriſh chiefly in wealthy and luxurious countries. Our native American portrait painters who have not ſought protection and encouragement in Great Britain, have been obliged to travel occaſionally from one State to another in order to ſupport themſelves. The teachers of muſic have been more fortunate in America. A taſte for this accom-

pliſhment prevails very generally in our large cities: and eminent maſters in that art, who have arrived here ſince the peace, have received conſiderable ſums of money by exerciſing their profeſſion among us.

I ſhall now mention thoſe deſcriptions of people, who may better their condition by coming to America.

I. To the cultivators of the earth the United States open the firſt aſylum in the world. To inſure the ſucceſs and happineſs of an European Farmer in our country, it is neceſſary to adviſe him either to purchaſe or to rent a farm which has undergone ſome improvement.

The buſineſs of ſettling a new tract of land, and that of improving a farm, are of a very different nature. The former muſt be effected by the native American, who is accuſtomed to the uſe of the axe and the grubbing hoe, and who poſſeſſes almoſt excluſively a knowledge of all the peculiar and nameleſs arts of ſelf-preſervation in the woods. I have known many inſtances of Europeans who have ſpent all their caſh in unſucceſsful attempts to force a ſettlement in the wilderneſs, and who have afterwards been expoſed to poverty and diſtreſs at a great diſtance from friends and even neighbours. I would therefore adviſe all farmers with moderate capitals, to purchaſe or rent improved farms in the old ſettlements of our States. The price and rent of theſe farms are different in the different parts of the union. In Pennſylvania, the price of farms

is regulated by the quality of the land—by the value of the improvements which are erected upon it—by their vicinity to ſea ports and navigable water—and by the good or bad ſtate of the roads which lead to them. There is a great variety, of courſe, in the price of farms: while ſome of them have been ſold for five guineas—others have been ſold at lower prices, down to one guinea, and even half a guinea per acre, according as they were varied by the above circumſtances.

It is not expected that the whole price of a farm ſhould be paid at the time of purchaſing it. An half, a third, or a fourth, is all that is generally required. Bonds and mortgages are given for the remainder, (and ſometimes without intereſt) payable in two, three, five, or even ten years.

The value of theſe farms has often been doubled and even trebled, in a few years, where the new mode of agriculture has been employed in cultivating them: ſo that a man with a moderate capital, may, in the courſe of fifteen years, become an opulent and independent freeholder.

If, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the difficulties of effecting an eſtabliſhment in the woods, the low price of the new lands ſhould tempt the European Farmer to ſettle in them, then let me add, that it can only be done by aſſociating himſelf in a large company, under the direction of an active and intelligent American farmer. To ſecure even a

company of European ſettlers from diſappointment and want in the woods, it will be neceſſary to clear a few acres of land the year before, and to ſow them with grain, in order to provide ſubſiſtance for the company, till they can provide for themſelves, by clearing their own farms. The difficulties of eſtabliſhing this new ſettlement, will be further leſſened, if a few cabins, a griſt and a ſaw mill be erected, at the ſame time the preparations are made for the temporary ſubſiſtance of the company. In this manner, moſt of the firſt ſettlements of the New England men have been made in this country. One great advantage, attending this mode of ſettling, is, a company may always carry with them a clergyman and a ſchoolmaſter, of the ſame religion and language with themſelves. If a ſettler in the woods ſhould poſſeſs a taſte for rural elegance, he may gratify it without any expenſe, by the manner of laying out his farm. He may ſhade his houſe by means of ancient and venerable forreſt-trees. He may leave rows of them ſtanding, to adorn his lanes and walks—or cluſters of them on the high grounds of his fields, to ſhade his cattle. If he ſhould fix upon any of thoſe parts of our weſtern country, which are covered with the ſugar-trees, he may incloſe a ſufficient number of them to ſupply his family with ſugar; and may confer upon them at the ſame time the order and beauty of a fine orchard. In this manner, a highly improved ſeat may

be cut out of the woods in a few years, which will ſurpaſs both in elegance and value a farm in an old ſettlement, which has been for twenty years the ſubject of improvements in taſte and agriculture. To contemplate a dwelling-houſe—a barn—ſtables—fields—meadows—an orchard—a garden, &c. which have been produced from original creation by the labour of a ſingle life, is, I am told, to the proprietor of them, one of the higheſt pleaſures the mind of man is capable of enjoying. But how much muſt this pleaſure be increaſed, when the regularity of art is blended in the proſpect, with the wildneſs and antiquity of nature?

It has been remarked in this country, that clearing the land of its woods, ſometimes makes a new ſettlement unhealthy, by expoſing its damp grounds to the action of the ſun. To obviate this evil, it will be neceſſary for the ſettler either to drain and cultivate his low grounds, as ſoon as they are cleared, or to leave a body of trees between his dwelling houſe, and the ſpots from whence the morbid effluvia are derived. The laſt of theſe methods has, in no inſtance that I have heard of, failed of preſerving whole families from ſuch diſeaſes as ariſe from damp or putrid exhalations.

To country gentlemen, who have been accuſtomed to live upon the income of a landed eſtate in Europe, it will be neceſſary to communicate the following information, viz. that farms, in conſequence of the

unproductive woodland, which is generally connected with them, ſeldom yield more than three or four per cent. a year in caſh, except in the neighbourhood of large cities. Beſides, from the facility with which money enough may be ſaved in a few years, to purchaſe land in this country, tenants will not accept of long leaſes: and hence they are not ſufficiently intereſted in the farms they rent, to keep them in repair. If country gentlemen wiſh to derive the greateſt advantage from laying out their money in lands, they muſt reſide in their vicinity. A capital of five thouſand guineas, inveſted in a number of contiguous farms, in an improved part of our country, and cultivated by tenants under the eye and direction of a landlord, would ſoon yield a greater income than double that ſum would in moſt parts of Europe. The landlord in this caſe muſt frequently viſit and inſpect the ſtate of each of his farms: and now and then he muſt ſtop to repair a bridge or a fence in his excurſions through them. He muſt receive all his rents in the produce of the farms. If the tenant find his own ſtock, he will pay half of all the grain he raiſes, and ſometimes a certain proportion of vegetables and live ſtock, to his landlord. The diviſion of the grain is generally made in the field, in ſheaves or ſtacks, which are carried home to be thraſhed in the barn of the landlord. An eſtated gentleman, who can reconcile himſelf to this kind of life, may be both happy and uſeful. He may inſtruct his

tenants by his example, as well as precepts in the new modes of huſbandry: he may teach them the art and advantages of gardening: he may inſpire them with habits of ſobriety, induſtry, and œconomy; and thereby become the father and protector of a dependant and affectionate neighbourhood. After a buſy ſummer and autumn, he may paſs his winters in poliſhed ſociety in any of our cities, and in many of our country villages.

But ſhould he be diſinclined to ſuch extenſive ſcenes of buſineſs, he may confine his purchaſes and labours to a ſingle farm, and ſecure his ſuperfluous caſh in bonds and mortgages, which will yield him ſix per cent.

Under this head, it is proper to mention, that the agricultural life begins to maintain in the United States, the ſame rank that it has long maintained in Great Britain. Many gentlemen of education among us have quitted liberal profeſſions, and have proved, by their ſucceſs in farming, that philoſophy is in no buſineſs more uſeful or profitable, than in agriculture.

II. MECHANICS and MANUFACTURERS, of every deſcription, will find certain encouragement in the United States. During the connection of this country with Great Britain, we were taught to believe that agriculture and commerce ſhould be the only purſuits of the Americans: but experiments and reflexion have taught us, that our country abounds with re-

ſources for manufactures of all kinds: and that moſt of them may be conducted with great advantage in all the ſtates. We are already nearly independent of the whole world for iron-work, paper, and malt liquors: and great progreſs has been made in the manufacturies of glaſs, pot-aſh, and cloths of all kinds. The commercial habits of our citizens have as yet prevented their employing large capitals in thoſe manufacturies: but I am perſuaded that if a few European adventurers would embark in them with capitals equal to the demand for thoſe manufactures, they would ſoon find an immenſe profit in their ſpeculations. A ſingle farmer in the ſtate of New York, with a capital of five thouſand pounds, has cleared one thouſand a year by the manufacture of pot-aſh alone.

Thoſe mechanical arts, which are accomodated to the infant and ſimple ſtate of a country, will bid faireſt to ſucceed among us. Every art, connected with cultivating the earth—building houſes and ſhips, and feeding and clothing the body, will meet with encouragement in this country. The prices of proviſions are ſo different in the different ſtates, and even in the different parts of the ſame ſtate, and vary ſo much with the plenty and ſcarcity of money, that it would be difficult to give you ſuch an account of them as would be uſeful. I need only remark, that the diſproportion between the price of labour and of proviſions, is much greater in every part of the United States, than in any part of Europe: and hence our tradeſmen

every where eat meat and butter every day: and moſt of them realize the wiſh of Henry IV. of France, for the peaſants of his kingdom, by dining not only once, but two or three times, upon poultry, in every week of the year.

It is a ſingular fact in the hiſtory of the mechanical arts in this country, that the ſame arts ſeldom deſcend from father to ſon. Such are the profits of even the humbleſt of them, that the ſons of mechanics generally riſe from the lower to the more reſpectable occupations: and thus their families gradually aſcend to the firſt ranks in ſociety among us. The influence, which the proſpects of wealth and conſequence have in invigorating induſtry in every line of mechanical buſineſs, is very great. Many of the firſt men in America, are the ſons of reputable mechanics or farmers. But I may go farther, and add, that many men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves both in the cabinet and field, in the late war, had been mechanics. I know the Britiſh officers treated the American cauſe with contempt, from this circumſtance: but the event of the war ſhewed, that the confidence of America was not miſplaced in that body of citizens.

III. Labourers may depend upon conſtant employment in the United States, both in our towns and in the country. When they work by the day, they receive high wages: but theſe are ſeldom continued

through the whole year. A labourer receives annually, with his boarding, waſhing, and lodging, from fifteen to eighteen guineas, in the middle ſtates. It is agreeable to obſerve this claſs of men frequently raiſed by their induſtry from their humble ſtations, into the upper ranks of life, in the courſe of twenty or thirty years.

IV. Persons who are willing to indent themſelves as ſervants for a few years, will find that humble ſtation no obſtacle to a future eſtabliſhment in our country. Many men, who came to America in that capacity, are now in affluent circumſtances. Their former ſituation, where they have behaved well, does not preclude them from forming reſpectable connections in marriage, nor from ſharing, if otherwiſe qualified, in the offices of our country.

V. The United States continue to afford encouragement to gentlemen of the *learned profeſſions*, provided they be prudent in their deportment, and of ſufficient knowledge: for ſince the eſtabliſhment of colleges and ſchools of learning in all our ſtates, the ſame degrees of learning will not ſucceed among us, which ſucceeded fifty years ago.

Several lawyers and phyſicians, who have arrived here ſince the peace, are now in good buſineſs: and many clergymen, natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are comfortably ſettled in good pariſhes. A

miniſter of the goſpel in a country place muſt not expect to have all his ſalary paid in caſh: but he will notwithſtanding ſeldom fail of obtaining a good ſubſiſtance from his congregation. They will furniſh his table with a portion of all the live ſtock they raiſe for their own uſe: they will ſhoe his horſes—repair his implements of huſbandry, and aſſiſt him in gathering in his harveſts, and in many other parts of the buſineſs of his farm. From theſe aids, with now and then a little caſh, a clergyman may not only live well, but, in the courſe of his life, may accumulate an handſome eſtate for his children. This will more certainly happen, if he can redeem time enough from his parochial duties, and the care of his farm, to teach a ſchool. The people of America are of all ſects: but the greateſt part of them are of the independent, preſbyterian, epiſcopal, baptiſt, and methodiſt denominations. The principles held by each of theſe ſocieties in America are the ſame as thoſe which are held by the proteſtant churches in Europe, from which they derive their origin.

VI. SCHOOLMASTERS of good capacities and fair characters may expect to meet with encouragement in the middle and ſouthern ſtates. They will ſucceed better, if they confine their inſtructions to reading, writing, Engliſh grammar, and the ſciences of number and quantity. Theſe branches of literature are of general neceſſity and utility: and of courſe every

townſhip will furniſh ſcholars enough for the maintenance of a ſchoolmaſter. Many young men have riſen by means of the connexions they have formed in this uſeful employment, to rank and conſequence in the learned profeſſions in every part of this country.

From this account of the United States, you will eaſily perceive, that they are a hot-bed for induſtry and genius in almoſt every human purſuit. It is inconceivable how many uſeful diſcoveries neceſſity has produced within theſe few years, in agriculture and manufactures, in our country. The ſame neceſſity has produced a verſatility of genius among our citizens: hence we frequently meet with men who have exerciſed two or three different occupations or profeſſions in the courſe of their lives, according to the influence which intereſt, accident, or local circumſtances have had upon them. I know that the peculiarities, which have been mentioned in the American character, ſtrike an European, who has been accuſtomed to conſider man as a creature of habit, formed by long eſtabliſhed governments, and hereditary cuſtoms, as ſo many deviations from propriety and order. But a wiſe man, who knows that national characters ariſe from circumſtances, will view theſe peculiarities without ſurpriſe, and attribute them wholly to the preſent ſtate of manners, ſociety, and government in America.

From the numerous competitions in every branch of buſineſs in Europe, ſucceſs in any purſuit, may be

looked upon in the ſame light as a prize in a lottery. But the caſe is widely different in America. Here there is room enough for every human talent and virtue to expand and flouriſh. This is ſo invariably true, that I believe there is not an inſtance to be found, of an induſtrious, frugal prudent European, with ſober manners, who has not been ſucceſsful in buſineſs, in this country.

As a further inducement to Europeans to tranſport themſelves acroſs the Ocean, I am obliged to mention a fact that does little honour to the native American; and that is, in all competitions for buſineſs, where ſucceſs depends upon induſtry, the European is generally preferred. Indeed, ſuch is the facility with which property is acquired, that where it does not operate as a ſtimulus to promote ambition, it is ſometimes accompanied by a relaxation of induſtry in proportion to the number of years or generations which interpoſe between the founder of an American family and his poſterity. This preference of European mechanics ariſes, likewiſe, from the improvements in the different arts, which are from time to time imported by them into our country. To theſe facts I am happy in being able to add, that the years of anarchy, which proved ſo diſguſting to the Europeans who arrived among us immediately after the peace, are now at an end, and that the United States have at laſt adopted a national government which unites with the vigour of monarchy and the ſtability of ariſtocracy, all the freedom of

a ſimple republic. Its influence already in invigorating induſtry, and reviving credit, is univerſal. There are ſeveral peculiarities in this governmcnt, which cannot fail of being agreeable to Europeans, who are diſpoſed to ſettle in America.

1. The equal ſhare of power it holds forth to men of every religious ſect. As the firſt fruits of this perfection in our government, we already ſee three gentlemen of the Roman Catholic church, members of the legiſlature of the United States.

2. Birth in America is not required for holding either power or office in the federal government, except that of Preſident of the United States. In conſequence of this principle of juſtice, not only in the national government, but in all our ſtate conſtitutions, we daily ſee the natives of Britain, Ireland, Germany, advanced to the moſt reſpectable employments in our country.

3. By a late act of congreſs, only two years reſidence in the United States are neceſſary to entitle foreigners of good character to all the priviliges of citizenſhip. Even that ſhort period of time has been found ſufficient to give ſtrangers a viſible intereſt in the ſtability and freedom of our governments. *

It is agreeable to obſerve the influence which our republican governments have already had upon the

* By a law paſſed ſince the above, five years reſidence are neceſſary to entitle a forcigner to citizenſhip.

tempers and manners of our citizens. Amuſement is every where giving way to buſineſs: and local politeneſs is yielding to univerſal civility. We differ about forms and modes in politics: but this difference begins to ſubmit to the reſtraints of moral and ſocial obligation. Order and tranquility appear to be the natural conſequence of a well-balanced republic: for where men can remove the evils of their governments by frequent elections, they will ſeldom appeal to the leſs certain remedies of mobs or arms. It is with ſingular pleaſure that I can add further, that notwithſtanding the virulence of our diſſenſions about independence and the federal government, there is now ſcarcely a citizen of the United States, who is not ſatisfied with both, and who does not believe this country to be in a happier and ſafer ſituation, than it was, in the moſt flouriſhing years of its dependence upon Great Britain.

The encouragment held out to European emigrants is not the ſame in all the ſtates. New England, New York, and New Jerſey, being nearly filled with cultivators of the earth, afford encouragement chiefly to mechanicks and labourers. The inhabitants of New England have far ſurpaſſed the inhabitants of the other ſtates, in the eſtabliſhment of numerous and profitable manufactories. Theſe wonderful people diſcover the ſame degrees of induſtry in cultivating the arts of peace, that they did of enterprize and perſeverance, in the late war. They already export large quantities

of wrought iron, hats, women's ſhoes, cheeſe, and linen and woolen cloth. The ſtate of New-York has likewiſe diſcovered a laudable ſpirit for manufacturers and domeſtic improvements. European artiſts, therefore, cannot fail of meeting with encouragement in each of the above ſtates.

Pennſylvania affords an equal aſylum to all the deſcriptions of people that have been mentioned, under the ſecond head of this letter. Agriculture, manufactures, and many of the liberal arts ſeem to vie with each other for pre-eminence in this ſtate. Each of them is under the patronage of numerous and reſpectable ſocieties. No ſtate in the union affords greater reſources for ſhip building, malt liquors, maple ſugar, ſail cloth, iron work, woolen and linen cloths, potaſh, and glaſs. Coal, likewiſe, abounds on the ſhores of the Suſquehanna, a large river which runs through half the ſtate. The variety of ſects and nations, which compoſe the inhabitants of this ſtate, has hitherto prevented our having any ſteady traits in our character. We poſſeſs the virtues and weakneſſes of moſt of the ſects and nations of Europe. But this variety has produced ſuch a colliſion in opinions and intereſts, as has greatly favoured the progreſs of genius in every art and ſcience. We have been accuſed of being factious by our ſiſter ſtates. This muſt be aſcribed chiefly to our late ſtate conſtitution, which was eſtabliſhed by violence in the beginning of the late war, and which was never aſſented to by a majority of the people.

But that majority have at length aſſerted their power. A convention, compoſed of an equal repreſentation of the people, has met and formed a new conſtitution, which comprehends in it every principle of liberty and juſt government. From the excellency of this conſtitution—from the harmony it has reſtored to our citizens—from the central ſituation of our ſtate—from the number and courſes of our rivers—from the facility with which we are able to draw the reſources of the lakes to the Delaware—from the wealth of our capital—and above all, from the induſtry and ſober habits of our citizens—there can be no doubt that Pennſylvania will always maintain the firſt rank, for national proſperity and happineſs, in the United States.

There is one circumſtance, peculiar in a great degree to Penſylvania, which cannot fail of directing the eyes of the inhabitants of ſeveral of the European nations to this ſtate—and that is, the natives of Britain, Ireland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Holland, may here meet with their former fellow ſubjects, and receive from them that welcome and aſſiſtance, which are the natural conſequences of the tie of country. So ſtrongly does this principle operate in America, that the natives of Germany and Ireland have formed themſelves into ſocieties in the city of Philadelphia, for the expreſs purpoſe of protecting, adviſing, and aſſiſting their country-

men, as ſoon as they ſet their feet upon the ſhores of Pennſylvania.

It has been ſaid, that the lands in Pennſylvania are dearer than in ſome of our ſiſter ſtates. They ſell, it is true, for a greater nominal ſum, than the lands of the neighbouring ſtates: but in the end, they are much cheaper. The ſoil is deep, rich, and durable, and from the ſuperior induſtry and ſkill of our farmers, our lands are more productive than thoſe of our neighbours; hence their higher price; for the price of lands is always in a ratio to their quality, produce and ſituation: hence likewiſe, we are able to tell the value of a farm in any part of the ſtate, by firſt finding out the quantity of grain an acre will produce, and the price of this grain at the neareſt mill or ſtore, making ſome little allowance for the improvements which are connected with the farm. This remark is ſo univerſally true, that a farmer never miſtakes the application of it in purchaſing land. There is a certain inſtinct, which governs in all purchaſes and ſales of farms, and which ariſes out of the principle I have mentioned: it is in general as accurate, as if it aroſe out of the niceſt calculation. It is from an ignorance or neglect of this principle, that ſo many of our citizens have migrated to Kentucky, under a deluſive expectation of purchaſing lands cheaper than in the old ſtates. They are in fact often much dearer when you eſtimate their price by the profit of the grain which is cultivated upon them. For inſtance, an acre

of land in Kentucky, which ſells for a quarter of a guinea, and yields 30 buſhels of corn, at four pence ſterling per buſhel, is dearer than land of the ſame quality in Pennſylvania, at a guinea per acre, that yields the ſame quantity of corn, which can be ſold at the neareſt mill or ſtore for two ſhillings ſterl. per buſhel. To cure this paſſion for migrating to the waters of the Ohio, there is but one remedy, and that is, to open the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi. This, by raiſing the price of produce, will raiſe the value of land ſo high, as to deſtroy the balance of attraction to that country. This truth is at preſent a ſpeculative one, but I hope it will be reduced to practice before the waters of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi have been dyed with the blood of two or three hundred thouſand men.

The ſtates to the ſouthward of Pennſylvania poſſeſs immenſe reſources for political happineſs: but while they tolerate negro ſlavery, they can never be an agreeable retreat for an European. This objection applies chiefly to the ſea coaſts of thoſe ſtates; for in the weſtern parts of them, the land is cultivated chiefly by freemen. The ſoil and climate of the extenſive weſtern country of thoſe ſtates is kind and mild to a very great degree. There Europeans may proſper and be happy.

Thus, Sir, have I complied in a few words with your requeſt. In communicating many of the facts contained in this letter, I have not conſidered you

ſimply as a citizen of London, or a ſubject of the crown of Britain. The whole family of mankind, I know are your brethren; and if men be happy I am ſure it is a matter of indifference to you, whether they enjoy their happineſs on this ſide, or on the other ſide of the Atlantic ocean.

From a review of the facts that have been mentioned, you will perceive that the preſent is the age of reaſon and action in America. To our poſterity we muſt bequeath the cultivation of the fine arts and the pleaſures of taſte and ſentiment. The foreigners who have viſited and deſcribed our country without making allowances for thoſe peculiarities which ariſe from our preſent ſtate of ſociety, have done as little honour to their underſtandings, as they have done to human nature. Nor have thoſe Europeans diſcovered more wiſdom, who have blended with the American character, the accidental diſorders, which were the offspring of our late public commotions. They reſembled the ſwelling of the ſea, which ſucceeds a ſtorm. At preſent, they have as perfectly ſubſided as the diſorders produced by the civil wars in England, in the laſt century.

It is ſomewhat remarkable that in every age, great inventions and great revolutions in human affairs have taken place in a quick ſucceſſion to each other. The many curious machines for leſſening labour, which

have lately been diſcovered in Europe, will neceſſarily throw many thouſand artificers out of employment. Perhaps the late ſucceſsful application of the powers of fire and water to mechanical purpoſes in your country, was delayed until the preſent time, only that the ſanctuary of our national government might be perfectly prepared to receive and protect thoſe induſtrious bodies of people, who formerly lived by the labour of their hands, and who might otherwiſe become a burden to the countries in which they had been deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves. Perhaps, too, the revolutions, which are now going forward in ſeveral of the governments on the continent of Europe, have occurred at the preſent juncture for a purpoſe equally wiſe and benevolent. The firſt effect of the eſtabliſhment of freedom in thoſe countries, will be to promote population, by reducing taxes, diſbanding ſtanding armies, and aboliſhing the vows and practices of celibacy: for I take it for granted that military inſtitutions in the time of peace, and monaſteries of all kinds, muſt yield to the preſent force and cultivated ſtate of human reaſon, in thoſe countries, which are now the theatres of revolutions in favour of liberty. This increaſe of population will require an increaſe of territory, which muſt be ſought for in the United States: for it is not probable that men who have once taſted of the ſweets of liberty, will ever think of tranſporting themſelves to any other country. This outlet for ſupernumerary inhabitants

from the nations of Europe, will eventually promote their intereſts and proſperity: for when a country is ſo much crouded with people, that the price of the means of ſubſiſtence is beyond the ratio of their induſtry, marriages are reſtrained: but when emigration to a certain degree takes place, the balance between the means of ſubſiſtence and induſtry is reſtored, and population thereby revived. Of the truth of this principle there are many proofs in the old counties of all the American ſtates. Population has conſtantly been advanced in them by the migration of their inhabitants to new or diſtant ſettlements.

In ſpite of all the little ſyſtems of narrow politicians, it is an eternal truth, that univerſal happineſs is univerſal intereſt. The divine government of our world would admit of a controverſy, if men, by acquiring moral or political happineſs, in one part, added to the miſery of the inhabitants of another part, of our globe.

I ſhall conclude this long letter by the two following remarks:

I. If freedom, joined with the facility of acquiring the means of ſubſiſtence, have ſuch an influence upon population—and if exiſtence be a title to happineſs—then think, ſir, what an ocean of additional happineſs will be created, by the influence which migration to the free and extenſive territories of the United States will have, upon the numbers of mankind.

II. If wars have been promoted in all ages and countries, by an over proportion of inhabitants to the means of eaſy ſubſiſtence, then think, ſir, what an influence upon the means of ſupporting human life, migration to America, and the immenſe increaſe of the productions of the earth, by the late improvements in agriculture, will probably have, in leſſening the temptations and reſources of nations to carry on war. The promiſes of heaven are often accompliſhed by means in which there is no departure from the common operations of nature. If the events, which have been alluded to, ſhould contribute in any degree to put an end to wars, it will furniſh a noble triumph to your ſociety †, by ſhewing how much enlightened policy, and national happineſs, are connected with the dictates of chriſtianity.

I am,
Dear ſir,
With great reſpect,
And ſincere regard,
Yours very affectionately,

Philadelphia, April 16. 1790.

† The gentleman to whom this letter is addreſſed, is of the ſociety of the people called quakers.

An account of the progress of population, agriculture, manners, and government in Pennsylvania, in a letter to a friend in England.

Dear Sir,

WHATEVER tends to unfold *facts* in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies, muſt be intereſting to a curious enquirer.—The manner of ſettling a new country, exhibits a view of the human mind ſo foreign to the views of it which have been taken for many centuries in Europe, that I flatter myſelf the following account of the progreſs of population, agriculture, manners, and government in Pennſylvania will be acceptable to you. I have choſen to confine myſelf in the preſent letter to Pennſylvania only, that all the information I ſhall give you may be derived from my own knowledge and obſervations.

The *firſt* ſettler in the woods is generally a man who has outlived his credit or fortune in the cultivated parts of the State. His time for migrating is in the month of April. His firſt object is to build a ſmall cabbin of rough logs for himſelf and family. The floor of this cabbin is of earth, the roof is of ſplit logs—the light is received through the door, and, in

ſome inſtances, through a ſmall window made of greaſed paper. A coarſer building adjoining this cabbin affords a ſhelter to a cow and a pair of poor horſes. The labor of erecting theſe buildings is ſucceeded by killing the trees on a few acres of ground near his cabbin; this is done by cutting a circle round the trees, two or three feet from the ground. The ground around theſe trees is then ploughed and Indian-corn planted in it. The ſeaſon for planting this grain is about the 20th of May—It grows generally on new ground with but little cultivation, and yields in the month of October following, from forty to fifty buſhels by the acre. After the firſt of September it affords a good deal of nouriſhment to his family, in its green or unripe ſtate, in the form of what is called *roaſting ears*. His family is fed during the ſummer by a ſmall quantity of grain which he carries with him, and by fiſh and game. His cows and horſes feed upon wild graſs, or the ſucculent twigs of the woods. For the firſt year he endures a great deal of diſtreſs from hunger—cold—and a variety of accidental cauſes, but he ſeldom complains or ſinks under them. As he lives in the neighbourhood of Indians, he ſoon acquires a ſtrong tincture of their manners. His exertions, while they continue, are violent; but they are ſucceeded by long intervals of reſt. His pleaſures conſiſt chiefly in fiſhing and hunting. He loves ſpirituous liquors, and he eats, drinks and ſleeps in dirt and rags in his little cabbin. In his intercourſe with the world

he manifeſts all the arts which characterize the Indians of our country. In this ſituation he paſſes two or three years. In proportion as population increaſes around him, he becomes uneaſy and diſſatisfied. Formerly his cattle ranged at large, but now his neighbours call upon him to confine them within fences, to prevent their treſpaſſing upon their fields of grain. Formerly he fed his family with wild animals, but theſe, which fly from the face of man, now ceaſe to afford him an eaſy ſubſiſtence, and he is compelled to raiſe domeſtic animals for the ſupport of his family. Above all, he revolts againſt the operation of laws. He cannot bear to ſurrender up a ſingle natural right for all the benefits of government,—and therefore he abandons his little ſettlement, and ſeeks a retreat in the woods, where he again ſubmits to all the toils which have been mentioned. There are inſtances of many men who have broken ground on bare creation, not leſs than four different times in this way, in different and more advanced parts of the State. It has been remarked, that the flight of this claſs of people is always increaſed by the preaching of the goſpel. This will not ſurpriſe us when we conſider how oppoſite its precepts are to their licentious manner of living. If our firſt ſettler was the owner of the ſpot of land which he began to cultivate, he ſells it at a conſiderable profit to his ſucceſſor; but if (as is oftner the caſe) he was a tenant to ſome rich landholder,

he abandons it in debt; however, the ſmall improvements he leaves behind him, generally make it an object of immediate demand to a *ſecond* ſpecies of ſettler.

This ſpecies of ſettler is generally a man of ſome property,—he pays one third or one fourth part in caſh for his plantation, which conſiſts of three or four hundred acres, and the reſt in gales or inſtalments, as it is called here; that is, a certain ſum yearly, without intereſt, 'till the whole is paid. The firſt object of this ſettler is to build an addition to his cabbin; this is done with hewed logs: and as ſaw-mills generally follow ſettlements, his floors are made of boards; his roof is made of what are called clapboards, which are a kind of coarſe ſhingles, ſplit out of ſhort oak logs. This houſe is divided by two floors, on each of which are two rooms; under the whole is a cellar walled with ſtone. The cabbin ſerves as kitchen to this houſe. His next object is to clear a little meadow ground, and plant an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. His ſtable is likewiſe enlarged; and, in the courſe of a year or two, he builds a large log barn, the roof of which is commonly thatched with rye ſtraw: he moreover encreaſes the quantity of his arable land; and, inſtead of cultivating Indian corn alone, he raiſes a quantity of wheat and rye: the latter is cultivated chiefly for the purpoſe of being diſtilled into whiſkey. This ſpe-

cies of ſettler by no means extracts all from the earth, which it is capable of giving. His fields yield but a ſcanty increaſe, owing to the ground not being ſufficiently ploughed. The hopes of the year are often blaſted by his cattle breaking through his half made fences, and deſtroying his grain. His horſes perform but half the labor that might be expected from them, if they were better fed; and his cattle often die in the ſpring from the want of proviſion, and the delay of graſs. His houſe, as well as his farm, bear many marks of a weak tone of mind. His windows are unglazed, or, if they have had glaſs in them, the ruins of it are ſupplied with old hats or pillows. This ſpecies of ſettler is ſeldom a good member of civil or religious ſociety: with a large portion of a hereditary mechanical kind of religion, he neglects to contribute ſufficiently towards building a church, or maintaining a regular adminiſtration of the ordinances of the goſpel: he is equally indiſpoſed to ſupport civil government: with high ideas of liberty, he refuſes to bear his proportion of the debt contracted by its eſtabliſhment in our country: he delights chiefly in company—ſometimes drinks ſpirituous liquors to exceſs—will ſpend a day or two in every week, in attending political meetings; and, thus, he contracts debts which, (if he cannot diſcharge in a depreciated paper currency) compel him to ſell his plantation, generally in the courſe of a few years, to the *third* and laſt ſpecies of ſettler.

This ſpecies of ſettler is commonly a man of property and good character—ſometimes he is the ſon of a wealthy farmer in one of the interior and ancient counties of the ſtate. His firſt object is to convert every ſpot of ground, over which he is able to draw water, into meadow: where this cannot be done, he ſelects the moſt fertile ſpots on the farm, and devotes it by manure to that purpoſe. His next object is to build a barn, which he prefers of ſtone. This building is, in ſome inſtances, 100 feet in front, and 40 in depth: it is made very compact, ſo as to ſhut out the cold in winter; for our farmers find that their horſes and cattle, when kept warm, do not require near as much food, as when they are expoſed to the cold. He uſes œconomy, likewiſe, in the conſumption of his wood. Hence he keeps himſelf warm in winter, by means of ſtoves, which ſave an immenſe deal of labour to himſelf and his horſes, in cutting and hawling wood in cold and wet weather. His fences are every where repaired, ſo as to ſecure his grain from his own and his neighbour's cattle. But further, he increaſes the number of the articles of his cultivation, and, inſtead of raiſing corn, wheat and rye alone, he raiſes oats, buckwheat, (the fagopyrum of Linnæus) and ſpelts. Near his houſe, he allots an acre or two of ground for a garden, in which he raiſes a large quantity of cabbage and potatoes. His newly cleared fields, afford him every year a large increaſe of turnips. O r the ſpring which ſupplies

him with water, he builds a milk-houſe and over this, in ſome inſtances, he builds a ſmoke houſe; he likewiſe adds to the number, and improves the quality of his fruit trees:—His ſons work by his ſide all the year and his wife and daughters forſake the dairy and the ſpinning wheel, to ſhare with him in the toils of harveſt. The laſt object of his induſtry is to build a dwelling houſe. This buſineſs is ſometimes effected in the courſe of his life, but is oftener bequeathed to his ſon, or the inheritor of his plantation: and hence we have a common ſaying among our beſt farmers, "that "a ſon ſhould always begin where his father left off;" that is, he ſhould begin his improvements, by building a commodious dwelling-houſe, ſuited to the improvements and value of the plantation. This dwelling-houſe is generally built of ſtone—it is large, convenient, and filled with uſeful and ſubſtantial furniture—It ſometimes adjoins the houſe of the ſecond ſettler, but is frequently placed at a little diſtance from it. The horſes and cattle of this ſpecies of ſettler, bear marks in their ſtrength, fat and fruitfulneſs—of their being plentifully fed and carefully kept. His table abounds with a variety of the beſt proviſions—his very kitchen flows with milk and honey—beer, cyder, and home made wine are the uſual drinks of his family: the greateſt part of the cloathing of his family is manufactured by his wife and daughters: in proportion as he encreaſes in wealth, he values the protection of laws: hence

he punctually pays his taxes towards the ſupport of government. Schools and churches likewiſe, as the means of promoting order and happineſs in ſociety, derive a due ſupport from him: for benevolence and public ſpirit, as to theſe objects, are the natural offſpring of affluence and independence. Of this claſs of ſettlers are two-thirds of the farmers of Pennſylvania. Theſe are the men to whom Pennſylvania owes her ancient fame and conſequence. If they poſſeſs leſs refinement than their ſouthern neighbours, who cultivate their land with ſlaves, they poſſeſs more republican virtue. It was from the farms cultivated by theſe men, that the American and French armies were chiefly fed with bread during the late revolution; and it was from the produce of theſe farms, that thoſe millions of dollars were obtained from the Havanna after the year 1780, which laid the foundation of the bank of North America, and which fed and cloathed the American army, till the peace of Paris.——This is a ſhort account of the happineſs of a Pennſylvania farmer—To this happineſs our ſtate invites men of every religion and country.

We do not pretend to offer emigrants the pleaſures of Arcadia—It is enough if affluence, independence, and happineſs are enſured to patience, induſtry, and labour. The moderate price of land,* the credit which

* The unoccupied lands are ſold by the ſtate for about ſix guineas incluſive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as moſt of the lands that are ſettled, are procured from perſons who had purchaſed them from the ſtate, they are ſold to the firſt ſettler for a much higher price. The

ariſes from prudence, and the ſafety from our courts of law, of every ſpecies of property, render the bleſſings which I have deſcribed, objects within the reach of every man.

From a review of the three different ſpecies of ſettlers, it appears, that there are certain regular ſtages which mark the progreſs from the ſavage to civilized life. The firſt ſettler is nearly related to an Indian in his manners—In the ſecond, the Indian manners are more diluted: It is in the third ſpecies of ſettlers only, that we behold civilization completed—It is to the third ſpecies of ſettlers only, that it is proper to apply the term of *farmers*. While we record the vices of the firſt and ſecond ſettlers, it is but juſt to mention their virtues likewiſe.—Their mutual wants produce mutual dependance: hence they are kind and

quality of the ſoil—its vicinity to mills, court-houſes, places of worſhip, and navigable water: the diſtance of land-carriage to the ſea-ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the firſt ſettler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumſtances, influence the price of farms to the ſecond and third ſettlers. Hence the price of land to the firſt ſettlers is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre; and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the ſecond and third ſettlers, according as the land is varied by the before-mentioned circumſtances. When the firſt ſettler is unable to purchaſe, he often takes a tract of land for ſeven years on a leaſe, and contracts inſtead of paying a rent in caſh, to clear 50 acres of land, to build a log cabbin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this leaſe, ſells or rents for a conſiderable profit.

friendly to each other—their ſolitary ſituation makes viſitors agreeable to them;—hence they are hoſpitable to ſtrangers: their want of money, (for they raiſe but little more than is neceſſary to ſupport their families) has made it neceſſary for them to aſſociate for the purpoſes of building houſes, cutting their grain, and the like:—This they do in turns for each other, without any other pay than the pleaſures which uſually attend a country frolic—Perhaps what I have called virtues are rather *qualities*, ariſing from neceſſity, and the peculiar ſtate of ſociety in which theſe people live.—Virtue ſhould, in all caſes, be the offſpring of principle.

I do not pretend to ſay, that this mode of ſettling farms in Pennſylvania is univerſal—I have known ſome inſtanças where the firſt ſettler has performed the improvements of the ſecond, and yielded to the third. I have known a few inſtances likewiſe, of men of enterprizing ſpirits, who have ſettled in the wilderneſs, and who, in the courſe of a ſingle life, have advanced through all the intermediate ſtages of improvement that I have mentioned and produced all thoſe conveniences which have been aſcribed to the third ſpecies of ſettlers; thereby reſembling, in their exploits, not only the pioneers and light-infantry, but the main body of an army. There are inſtances likewiſe, where the firſt ſettlement has been improved by the ſame family, in hereditary ſucceſſion, 'till it has reached the third ſtage of cultivation. There are many ſpacious ſtone houſes and highly cultivated

farms in the neighbouring counties of the city of Philadelphia, which are poſſeſſed by the grandſons and great-grandſons of men who accompanied William Penn acroſs the ocean, and who laid the foundation of the preſent improvements of their poſterity, in ſuch cabbins as have been deſcribed.

This paſſion for migration which I have deſcribed, will appear ſtrange to an European. To ſee men turn their backs upon the houſes in which they drew their firſt breath—upon the church in which they were dedicated to God—upon the graves of their anceſtors—upon the friends and companions of their youth—and upon all the pleaſures of cultivated ſociety, and expoſing themſelves to all the hardſhips and accidents of ſubduing the earth, and thereby eſtabliſhing ſettlements in a wilderneſs, muſt ſtrike a philoſopher on your ſide the water, as a picture of human nature that runs counter to the uſual habits and principles of action in man. But this paſſion, ſtrange and new as it appears, is wiſely calculated for the extention of population in America: and this it does, not only by promoting the increaſe of the human ſpecies in new ſettlements, but in the old ſettlements likewiſe. While the degrees of induſtry and knowledge in agriculture, in our country, are proportioned to farms of from 75 to 300 acres, there will be a languor in population, as ſoon as farmers multiply beyond the number of farms of the

above dimenſions. To remove this languor, which is kept up alike by the increaſe of the price, and the diviſion of farms, a migration of part of the community becomes abſolutely neceſſary. And as this part of the community often conſiſts of the idle and extravagant, who eat without working, their removal, by increaſing the facility of ſubſiſtence to the frugal and induſtrious who remain behind, naturally increaſes the number of people, juſt as the cutting off the ſuckers of an apple-tree increaſes the ſize of the tree, and the quantity of fruit.

I have only to add upon this ſubject, that the migrants from Pennſylvania always travel to the ſouthward. The ſoil and climate of the weſtern parts of Virginia, North and South-Carolina, and Georgia, afford a more eaſy ſupport to lazy farmers, than the ſtubborn but durable ſoil of Pennſylvania.—*Here*, our ground requires deep and repeated plowing to render it fruitful—*there*, ſcratching the ground once or twice affords tolerable crops. In Pennſylvania, the length and coldneſs of the winter make it neceſſary for the farmers to beſtow a large ſhare of their labour in providing for and feeding their cattle; but in the ſouthern ſtates, cattle find paſture during the greateſt part of the winter, in the fields or woods. For theſe reaſons, the greateſt part of the weſtern counties of the States, that have been mentioned, are ſettled by original inhabitants of Pennſylvania. During the late war, the

militia of Orange county, in North Carolina, were enrolled, and their number amounted to 3,500, *every* man of whom had migrated from Pennſylvania. From this you will ſee, that our State is the great outport of the United States for Europeans; and that, after performing the office of a ſieve by detaining all thoſe people who poſſeſs the ſtamina of induſtry and virtue, it allows a paſſage to the reſt, to thoſe States which are accommodated to their habits of indolence.

I ſhall conclude this letter by remarking, that in the mode of extending population and agriculture, which I have deſcribed, we behold a new ſpecies of war. The *third* ſettler may be viewed as a conqueror. The weapons with which he atchieves his conqueſts, are the implements of huſbandry: and the virtues which direct them, are induſtry and œconomy. Idleneſs—extravagance—and ignorance fly before him. Happy would it be for mankind, if the kings of Europe would adopt this mode of extending their territories: it would ſoon put an end to the dreadful connection, which has exiſted in every age, between war and poverty, and between conqueſt and deſolation.

With great reſpect,
I have the honor to be,
SIR,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant.

An account of the manners of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania.

THE ſtate of Pennſylvania is ſo much indebted for her proſperity and reputation, to the German part of her citizens, that a ſhort account of their manners may, perhaps, be uſeful and agreeable to their fellow citizens in every part of the United States.

The aged Germans, and the anceſtors of thoſe who are young, migrated chiefly from the Palatinate; from Alcace, Swabis, Saxony, and Switzerland: but natives of every principality and dukedom, in Germany, are to be found in different parts of the ſtate. They brought but little property with them. A few pieces of gold or ſilver coin, a cheſt filled with clothes, a bible, and a prayer or an hymn book conſtituted the whole ſtock of moſt of them. Many of them bound themſelves, or one or more of their children, to maſters after their arrival, for four, five, or ſeven years, in order to pay for their paſſages acroſs the ocean. A clergyman always accompanied them when they came in large bodies.

The principal part of them were farmers; but there were many mechanics. who brought with them a knowledge of thoſe arts which are neceſ-

ſary and uſeful in all countries. Theſe mechanics were chiefly weavers, taylors, tanners, ſhoemakers, comb-makers, ſmiths of all kinds, butchers, paper-makers, watch makers, and ſugar bakers. I ſhall begin this account of the German inhabitants of Pennſylvania, by deſcribing the manners of the German farmers.

This body of citizens are not only induſtrious and frugal, but ſkilful cultivators of the earth. I ſhall enumerate a few particulars, in which they differ from moſt of the other farmers of Pennſylvania.

1ſt. In ſettling a tract of land, they always provide large and ſuitable accomodations for their horſes and cattle, before they lay out much money in building a houſe for themſelves. The barn and the ſtables are generally under one roof, and contrived in ſuch a manner as to enable them to feed their horſes and cattle, and to remove their dung, with as little trouble as poſſible. The firſt dwelling houſe upon this farm is ſmall, and built of logs. It generally laſts the life time of the firſt ſettler of a tract of land; and hence they have a ſaying, that "a "ſon ſhould always begin his improvements where "his father left off,"—that is, by building a large and convenient ſtone houſe.

2d. They always prefer good land or that land on which there is a large quantity of meadow ground.

From an attention to the cultivation of graſs, they often double the value of an old farm in a few years, and grow rich on farms, on which their predeceſſors of whom they purchaſed them, have nearly ſtarved. They prefer purchaſing farms with ſome improvements to ſettling on a new tract of land.

3d. In clearing new land, they do not girdle the trees ſimply, and leave them to periſh in the ground, as is the cuſtom of their Engliſh or Iriſh neighbours; but they generally cut them down and burn them. In deſtroying under-wood and buſhes, they generally grub them out of the ground; by which means a field is as fit for cultivation the ſecond year after it is cleared, as it is in twenty years afterwards. The advantages of this mode of clearing, conſiſt in the immediate product of the field, and in the greater facility with which it is ploughed, harrowed and reaped. The expenſe of repairing a plough, which is often broken two or three times in a year by ſmall ſtumps concealed in the ground, is often greater than the extraordinary expenſe of grubbing the ſame field completely, in clearing it.

4th. They feed their horſes and cows, of which they keep only a ſmall number, in ſuch a manner, that the former perform twice the labour of thoſe horſes, and the latter yield twice the quantity of milk of thoſe cows, that are leſs plentifully fed. There is great œconomy in this practice, eſpecially

in a country where ſo much of the labour of a farmer is neceſſary to ſupport his domeſtic animals. A German horſe is known in every part of the ſtate: indeed he ſeems to "feel with his "lord, the pleaſure and the pride" of his extraordinary ſize or fat.

5th. The fences of a German farm are generally high, and well built; ſo that his fields ſeldom ſuffer from the inroads of his own or his neighbours, horſes, cattle, hogs, or ſheep.

6th. The German farmers are great œconomiſts of their *wood*. Hence they burn it only in ſtoves, in which they conſume but a 4th. or 5th. part of what is commonly burnt in ordinary open fire places: beſides, their horſes are ſaved by means of this œconomy, from that immenſe labour, in hauling wood in the middle of winter, which frequently unfits the horſes of their neighbours for the toils of the enſuing ſpring. Their houſes are, moreover, rendered ſo comfortable, at all times, by large cloſe ſtoves, that twice the buſineſs is done by every branch of the family, in knitting, ſpinning, and mending farming utenſils, that is done in houſes where every member of the family crouds near to a common fire-place, or ſhivers at a diſtance from it,—with hands and fingers that move, by reaſon of the cold, with only half their uſual quickneſs.

They diſcover œconomy in the preſervation and increaſe of their wood in ſeveral other ways. They ſometimes defend it, by high fences, from their cattle; by which means the young foreſt trees are ſuffered to grow, to replace thoſe that are cut down for the neceſſary uſe of the farm. But where this cannot be conveniently done, they ſurround the ſtump of that tree which is moſt uſeful for fences, viz. the cheſnut, with a ſmall triangular fence. From this ſtump a number of ſuckers ſhoot out in a few years, two or three of which in the courſe of five and twenty years, grow into trees of the ſame ſize as the tree from whoſe roots they derived their origin.

7th. They keep their horſes and cattle as warm as poſſible in winter, by which means they ſave a great deal of their hay and grain; for thoſe animals when cold, eat much more than when they are in a more comfortable ſituation.

8th. The German farmers live frugally in their families, with reſpect to diet, furniture and apparel. They ſell their moſt profitable grain, which is wheat; and eat that which is leſs profitable, but more nouriſhing, that is rye or Indian corn. The profit to a farmer, from this ſingle article of œconomy, is equal, in the courſe of a life time, to the price of a farm for one of his children. They eat ſparingly of boiled animal food, with large quantities of vegetables, particularly ſallad, turnips, onions, and cabbage,

the laſt of which they make into *ſour crout*. They likewiſe uſe a large quantity of milk and cheeſe in their diet. Perhaps the Germans do not proportion the quantity of their animal food, to the degrees of their labour; hence it has been thought, by ſome people, that they decline in ſtrength ſooner than their Engliſh or Iriſh neighbours. Very few of them ever uſe diſtilled ſpirits in their families: their common drinks are cyder, beer, wine, and ſimple water. The furniture of their houſe is plain and uſeful. They cover themſeves in winter with light feather beds inſtead of blankets: in this contrivance there is both convenience, and œconomy, for the beds are warmer than blankets, and they are made by themſelves. The apparel of the German farmers is uſually *home ſpun*. When they uſe European articles of dreſs, they prefer thoſe which are of the beſt quality, and of the higheſt price. They are afraid of debt, and ſeldom purchaſe any thing without paying caſh for it.

9th. The German farmers have large or profitable gardens near their houſes. Theſe contain little elſe but uſeful vegetables. Pennſylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her knowledge in horticulture. There was a time when turnips and cabbage were the principal vegetables that were uſed in diet by the citizens of Philadelphia. This will not ſurpriſe thoſe perſons, who know that the firſt Engliſh ſettlers in Pennſylvania left England while horticulture was in

its infancy in that country. It was not till the reign of William III. that this uſeful and agreeable art was cultivated by the Engliſh nation. Since the ſettlement of a number of German gardeners in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the tables of all claſſes of citizens have been covered with a variety of vegetables, in every ſeaſon of the year; and to the uſe of theſe vegetables, in diet, may be aſcribed the general exemption of the citizens of Philadelphia from diſeaſes of the ſkin.

10th. The Germans ſeldom *hire* men to work upon their farms. The feebleneſs of that authority which maſters poſſeſses over hired ſervants, is ſuch that their wages are ſeldom procured from their labour, except in harveſt, when they work in the preſence of their maſters. The wives and daughters of the German farmers frequently forſake, for a while, their dairy and ſpinning-wheel, and join their huſbands and brothers in the labour of cutting down, collecting and bringing home the fruits of their fields and orchards The work of the gardens is generally done by the women of the family.

11th. A large and ſtrong waggon covered with linen cloth, is an eſſential part of the furniture of a German farm. In this waggon, drawn by four or five large horſes of a peculiar breed: they convey to market over the roughest roads, between 2 or 3 thouſand pounds weight of the produce of their farms. In

the months of September and October, it is no uncommon thing, on the Lancaſter and Reading roads, to meet in one day from fifty to an hundred of theſe waggons, on their way to Philadelphia, moſt of which belong to German farmers.

12th. The favourable influence of agriculture, as conducted by the Germans in extending human happineſs, is manifeſted by the joy they expreſs upon the birth of a child. No dread of poverty, nor diſtruſt of Providence from an encreaſing family, depreſs the ſpirits of theſe induſtrious and frugal people. Upon the birth of a ſon, they exult in the gift of a ploughman or a waggoner; and upon the birth of a daughter, they rejoice in the addition of another ſpinſter, or milkmaid to their family. Happy ſtate of human ſociety! what bleſſings can civilization confer, that can atone for the extinction of the ancient and patriarchal pleaſure of raiſing up a numerous and healthy family of children, to labour for their parents, for themſelves, and for their country; and finally to partake of the knowledge and happineſs which are annexed to exiſtence! The joy of parents upon the birth of a child is the grateful echo of creating goodneſs. May the mountains of Pennſylvania be for ever vocal, with ſongs of joy upon theſe occaſions! They will be the infallible ſigns of innocence, induſtry, wealth and happineſs in the ſtate.

13th. The Germans take great pains to produce, in their children, not only *habits* of labour, but a *love*

of it. In this they ſubmit to the irreverſible ſentence inflicted upon man, in ſuch a manner, as to convert the wrath of heaven into private and public happineſs. "To fear God, and to love work," are the firſt leſſons they teach their children. They prefer induſtrious habits to money itſelf; hence, when a young man aſks the conſent of his father to marry the girl of his choice, he does not enquire ſo much whether ſhe be rich or poor? or whether ſhe poſſeſſes any perſonal or mental accompliſhments—as whether ſhe be induſtrious, and acquainted with the duties of a good houſe-wife?

14th. The Germans ſet a great value upon patrimonial property. This uſeful principle in human nature prevents much folly and vice in young people. It moreover leads to laſting and extenſive advantages, in the improvement of a farm; for what inducement can be ſtronger in a parent to plant an orchard, to preſerve foreſt-trees or to build a commodious and durable houſe, than the idea, that they will all be poſſeſsed by a ſucceſſion of generations, who ſhall inherit his blood and name.

15th. The German farmers are very much influenced in planting and pruning trees, alſo in ſowing and reaping, by the age and appearances of the moon. This attention to the ſtate of the moon has been aſcribed to ſuperſtition; but if the facts related by Mr. Wilſon in his obſervations upon climates are true, part of their ſucceſs in agriculture muſt be aſcribed to their being ſo much influenced by it.

16th. From the hiſtory that has been given of the German agriculture, it will hardly be neceſſary to add that a German farm may be diſtinguiſhed from the farms of the other citizens of the ſtate, by the ſuperior ſize of their barns; the plain, but compact form of their houſes; the height of their encloſures; the extent of their orchards; the fertility of their fields; the luxuriance of their meadows, and a general appearance of plenty and neatneſs in every thing that belongs to them.

The German mechanic poſſeſſes ſome of the traits of the character that has been drawn of the German farmer. His firſt object is to become a freeholder; and hence we find few of them live in rented houſes. The higheſt compliment that can be paid to them on entering their houſes is to aſk them, "is this houſe your own." They are induſtrious, frugal, punctual and juſt. Since their ſettlement in Pennſylvania, many of them have acquired a knowledge of thoſe mechanical arts, which are more immediately neceſſary and uſeful in a new country; while they continue at the ſame time, to carry on the arts they imported from Germany, with vigour and ſucceſs.

But the genius of the Germans of Pennſylvania, is not confined to agriculture and the mechanical arts. Many of them have acquired great wealth by foreign and domeſtic commerce. As merchants they are candid and punctual. The bank of North America has witneſſed, from its firſt inſtitution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements.

Thus far have I deſcribed the *individual* character of ſeveral orders of the German citizens of Pennſylvania. I ſhall now take notice of ſome of their manners in a collective capacity. All the different ſects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children, and to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the chriſtian religion. For this purpoſe they ſettle as much as poſſible together—and make the erection of a ſchool houſe and a place of worſhip the firſt object of their care. They commit the education and inſtruction of their children in a peculiar manner to the miniſters and officers of their churches; —hence they grow up with prejudices in favour of public worſhip, and of the obligations of chriſtianity. Such has been the influence of a pious education among the German Lutherans in Pennſylvania, that in the courſe of nineteen years only one of them has ever been brought to a place of public ſhame or puniſhment.

As members of civil government, the Germans are peaceable—and exact in the payment of their taxes. Since they have participated in the power of the ſtate, many of them have become ſenſible and enlightened in the ſcience of legiſlation. Pennſylvania has had the ſpeaker's chair of her aſſembly, and the vice-preſident's office of her council, filled with dignity by gentlemen of German families. The ſame gentlemen have ſince been advanced to ſeats in the houſe of repreſentatives, under the new conſtitution

of the United States. In the great controverſy about the national government, a large majority of the Germans in Pennſylvania decided in favour of its adoption, notwithſtanding the moſt popular arts were uſed to prejudice them againſt it.

The Germans are but little addicted to convivial pleaſures.

They ſeldom meet for the ſimple purpoſe of eating and drinking in what are juſtly called "feeding "parties"; but they are not ſtrangers to the virtue of hoſpitality.—The hungry or benighted traveller, is always ſure to find a hearty welcome under their roofs. A gentleman of Iriſh extraction, who loſt his way in travelling through Lancaſter county, called late at night at the door of a German farmer. He was kindly received and entertained with the beſt of every thing the houſe afforded. The next morning, he offered to pay his hoſt for his lodging, and other accommodations: "No" ſaid the friendly German, in broken Engliſh—"I will take nothing "from you. I was once loſt, and entertained, as "you have been, at the houſe of a ſtranger who "would take no pay from me for his trouble. I "am therefore now only diſcharging that debt:— "do you pay your debt to me in the ſame way "to ſomebody elſe."—

They are extremely kind and friendly as neighbours. They often aſſiſt each other by loans of money for

a ſhort time, without intereſt, when the purchaſe of a plantation makes a larger ſum neceſſary than is commonly poſſeſsed by a ſingle farmer. To ſecure their confidence, it is neceſſary to be punctual. They never lend money a ſecond time, to a man who has once diſappointed them in paying what he had borrowed agreeably to his promiſe or obligation. It was remarked, during the late war, that there were very few inſtances of any of them diſcharging a bond, or a debt, with depreciated paper money.

It has been ſaid, that the Germans are deficient in learning; and that in conſequence of their want of more general and extenſive education, they are much addicted to ſuperſtition, and are frequently impoſed upon in the management of their affairs. Many of them have loſt valuable eſtates by being unacquainted with the common forms of law, in the moſt ſimple tranſactions; and many more of them have loſt their lives, by applying to quacks in ſickneſs: but this objection to the Germans will ſoon ceaſe to have any foundation in Pennſylvania. Several young men, born of German parents, have been educated in law, phyſic and divinity, who have demonſtrated by their abilities and knowledge, that the German genius for literature has not depreciated in America. A college has lately been founded by the ſtate in Lancaſter,† and committed chiefly to the care

† This college is called after Dr. FRANKLIN, who was preſident of the ſtate at the time it was founded, and who contributed very liberally to its funds.

of the Germans of all ſects, for the purpoſe of diffuſing learning among their children. In this college they are to be taught the German and Engliſh languages, and all thoſe branches of literature which are uſually taught in the colleges of Europe and America. The principal of this college is a native of Pennſylvania, of German parentage.* His extenſive knowledge and taſte in the arts and ſciences, joined with his induſtry in the diſcharge of the duties of his ſtation, have afforded to the friends of learning in Pennſylvania, the moſt flattering proſpects of the future importance and uſefulneſs of this inſtitution,

Both ſexes of the Germans diſcover a ſtrong propenſity to vocal and inſtrumental muſic. They excel, in pſalmody, all the other religious ſocieties in the ſtate.

The freedom and toleration of the government has produced a variety of ſects, among the Germans in Pennſylvania. The Lutherans compoſe a great proportion of the German citizens of the ſtate. Many of their churches are large and ſplendid. The German Preſbyterians are the next to them in numbers. Their churches are likewiſe large and furniſhed, in many places, with organs. The clergy, belonging to theſe churches, have moderate ſalaries, but they are punctually and juſtly paid. In the country they have glebes which are ſtocked and occaſionally worked by their congregations. The

* The Reverend Dr. Henry Muhlenberg.

extra expences of their miniſters, in all their excurſions to their eccleſiaſtical meetings, are borne by their reſpective congregations. By this means the diſcipline and general intereſts of their churches are preſerved and promoted. The German Lutherans and Preſbyterians live in great harmony with each other, inſomuch that they often preach in each other's churches, and in ſome inſtances unite in building a church, in which they both worſhip at different times. This harmony between two ſects, ~~one~~ ſo much oppoſed to each other, is owing to the relaxation of the Preſbyterians in ſome of the peculiar doctrines of Calvaniſm. I have called them Preſbyterians, becauſe moſt of them object to being deſignated by the name of Calvaniſts. The Menoniſts, the Moravians, the Swingfielders, and the Catholics, compoſe the other ſects of the German inhabitants of Pennſylvania. The Menoniſts hold war and oaths to be unlawful. They admit the ſacraments of baptiſm, by *ſprinkling*, and the ſupper. From them a ſect has ariſen, who hold, with the above principles and ceremonies, the neceſſity of *immerſion* baptiſm; hence they are called *Dunkers*, or Baptiſts. Previouſly to their partaking of the ſacrament of the ſupper, they waſh each other's feet, and ſit down to a love-feaſt. They practice theſe ceremonies of their religion with great humility and ſolemnity. They, moreover, hold the doctrine of univerſal ſalvation. From this ſect there have been ſeveral ſeceders, one of whom devoted themſelves to perpetual celibacy. They have exhibited

for many years, a curious ſpectacle of pious mortification, at a village called Ephrata, in Lancaſter county. They are at preſent reduced to fourteen or fifteen members. The *Separatiſts* who likewiſe diſſented from the Dunkers, reject the ordinances of baptiſm and the ſacrament; and hold the doctrine of the *Friends*, concerning the internal revelation of the goſpel. They hold, with the Dunkers, the doctrine of univerſal ſalvation. The ſingular piety, and exemplary morality of theſe ſects, have been urged, by the advocates for the ſalvation of all mankind, as a proof that the belief of that doctrine is not ſo unfriendly to morals, and the order of ſociety, as has been ſuppoſed. The Dunkers and Separatiſts agree in taking no intereſt upon money, and in not applying to law to recover their debts.

The German Moravians are a numerous and reſpectable body of chriſtians in Pennſylvania. In their village of Bethlehem, there are two large ſtone buildings, in which the different ſexes are educated in habits of induſtry in uſeful manufactures. The ſiſters (for by that epithet the women are called) all ſleep in two large and neat apartments. Two of them watch over the reſt, in turns, every night, to afford relief from thoſe ſudden indiſpoſitions which ſometimes occur, in the moſt healthy perſons, in the hours of ſleep. It is impoſſible to record this fact, without pauſing a moment to do homage to that religion, which pro-

duces ſo much union and kindneſs in human ſouls. The number of women, who belong to this ſequeſtered female ſociety, amounts ſometimes to 120, and ſeldom to leſs than 100. It is remarkable that notwithſtanding they lead a ſedentary life, and ſit conſtantly in cloſe ſtove-rooms in winter, that not more than one of them, upon an average, dies in a year. The diſeaſe which generally produces this annual death, is the conſumption. The conditions and ages of the women of the village, as well as of the ſociety that has been mentioned, are diſtinguiſhed by ribbons of a peculiar kind which they wear on their caps: the widows, by white; the married women, by blue; the ſingle women, above 18 years of age, by pink; and thoſe under that age, by a ribbon of a cinnamon colour. Formerly this body of Moravians held all their property in common in imitation of the primitive chriſtians; but, in the year 1760, a diviſion of the whole of it took place, except a tavern, a tan-yard, 2000 acres of land near Bethlehem, and 5000 acres near Nazareth, a village in the neigbourhood of Bethlehem. The profits of theſe eſtates are appropriated to the ſupport and propagation of the goſpel. There are many valuable manufactures carried on at Bethlehem. The inhabitants poſſeſs a gentleneſs in their manners, which is peculiarly agreeable to ſtrangers. They inure their children, of five and ſix years old, to habits of early induſtry. By this means they are not only taught thoſe kinds of labor which are ſuited to

their ſtrength and capacities, but are preſerved from many of the hurtful vices and accidents to which children are expoſed.

The Swingfielders are a ſmall ſociety. They hold the ſame principles as the Friends, but they differ from them in uſing pſalmody in their worſhip.

The German Catholics are numerous in Philadelphia, and have ſeveral ſmall chapels in other parts of the ſtate.

There is an incorporated charitable ſociety of Germans in Philadelphia, whoſe objects are their poor and diſtreſſed countrymen.

There is likewiſe a German ſociety of labourers and journeymen mechanics, who contribute 2s. 6d. eight times a year, towards a fund, out of which they allow 30s. a week to each other's families, when the head of it is unable to work; and 7l. 10s to his widow, as ſoon as he is taken from his family by death.

The Germans of Pennſylvania, including all the ſects that have been mentioned, compoſe nearly one third part of the whole inhabitants of the ſtate.

The intercourſe of the Germans with each other, is kept up chiefly in their own language; but moſt of their men, who viſit the capital, and the trading or country towns of the ſtate, ſpeak the Engliſh lan-

guage. A certain number of the laws of the ſtate are now printed in German, for the benefit of thoſe of them who cannot read Engliſh. A large number of German news-papers are likewiſe circulated through the ſtate, through which knowledge and intelligence have been conveyed, much to the advantage of the government. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of a German, of either ſex, in Pennſylvania, that cannot *read*; but many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot *write*. The preſent ſtate of ſociety among them renders this accompliſhment of little conſequence to their improvement or happineſs.

If it were poſſible to determine the amount of all the property brought into Pennſylvania by the preſent German inhabitants of the ſtate, and their anceſtors, and then compare it with the preſent amount of their property, the contraſt would form ſuch a monument of human *induſtry* and *œconomy* as has ſeldom been contemplated in any age or country.

I have been informed that there was an ancient prophecy which foretold, that "God would bleſs "the Germans in foreign countries." This prediction has been faithfully verified in Pennſylvania. They enjoy here every bleſſing that liberty, toleration, independence, affluence, virtue and reputation, can confer upon them.

How different is their ſituation here; from what it was in Germany! Could the ſubjects of the princes

of Germany, who now groan away their lives in ſlavery and unprofitable labour, view from an eminence, in the month of June, the German ſettlements of Stratſburg, or Manheim in Lancaſter county, or of Lebanon or Bethlehem in the counties of Dauphin and Northampton; could they be accompanied on this eminence, by a venerable German farmer, and be told by him that many of thoſe extenſive fields of grain, full-fed herds, luxuriant meadows, orchards, promiſing loads of fruit, together with the ſpacious barns—and commodious ſtone-dwelling houſes, which compoſe the proſpects that have been mentioned, were all the product of the labour of a ſingle family, and of *one* generation; and that they were all ſecured to the owners of them by *certain* laws; I am perſuaded, that no chains would be able to detain them from ſharing in the freedom of their Pennſylvania friends and former fellow-ſubjects. "We will aſſert our dignity—(would be their language) we will be men—we will be free—we will enjoy the fruits of our own labours—we will no longer be bought and ſold to fight battles—in which we have neither intereſt nor reſentment—we will inherit a portion of that bleſſing which God has promiſed to the Germans in foreign countries—we will be Pennſylvanians."

I ſhall conclude this account of the manners of the German inhabitants of Pennſylvania by remark-

ing that if I have failed in doing them juſtice, it has not been the fault of my ſubject. The German character once employed the pen of one of the firſt hiſtorians of antiquity. I mean the elegant and enlightened Tacitus. It is very remarkable that the Germans in Pennſylvania retain in a great degree all the virtues, which this author aſcribes to their anceſtors in his treatiſe "*de moribus Germanorum*".—They inherit their integrity—fidelity—and chaſtity—but chriſtianity has baniſhed from them, their drunkenneſs, idleneſs, and love of military glory. There is a ſingular trait in the features of the German character in Pennſylvania, which ſhews how long the moſt trifling cuſtoms may exiſt among a people who have not been mixed with other nations. Tacitus deſcribes the manner in which the ancient Germans build their villages in the following words. "*Suam quiſque domum ſpatiis circumdat ſive adverſus caſus ignis remedium, ſive inſcitia ædificandi.*"† Many of the German villages in Pennſylvania are conſtructed in the ſame manner. The ſmall houſes are compoſed of a mixture, of wood, brick and clay, neatly united together. The large houſes are built of ſtone, and many of them after the Engliſh faſhion. Very few of the houſes in Germantown are connected together.—Where the Germans connect their houſes in their

† Each man leaves a ſpace between his houſe, and thoſe of his neighbours, either to avoid the danger from fire, or from unſkilfulneſs in architecture.

villages, they appear to have deviated from one of the cuſtoms they imported from Germany.

CITIZENS of the United States learn from the account that has been given of the German inhabitants of Pennſylvania, to prize knowlédge and induſtry in agriculture and manufactures, as the baſis of domeſtic happineſs and national proſperity.

LEGISLATORS of the United States, learn from the wealth, and independence of the German inhabitants of Pennſylvania, to encourage by your example, and laws, the republican virtues of induſtry and economy. They are the only pillars which can ſupport the preſent conſtitution of the United States.

LEGISLATORS of Pennſylvania,—learn from the hiſtory of your German fellow citizens that you poſſeſs an inexhauſtible treaſure in the boſom of the ſtate, in their manners and arts. Continue to patronize their newly eſtabliſhed ſeminary of learning and ſpare no expenſe in ſupporting their public free-ſchools. The vices which follow the want of religious inſtruction, among the children of poor people, lay the foundation of moſt of the jails, and places of public puniſhment in the ſtate. Do not contend with their prejudices in favour of their language. It will be the channel through which the knowledge and diſcoveries of one of the wiſeſt nations in Europe, may be conveyed into our coun-

try. In proportion as they are inſtructed and enlightened in their own language, they will become acquainted with the language of the United States. Invite them to ſhare in the power and offices of government: it will be the means of producing an union in principle and conduct between them, and thoſe of their enlightened fellow-citizens who are deſcended from other nations. Above all, cheriſh with peculiar tenderneſs, thoſe ſects among them who hold war to be unlawful.—Relieve them from the oppreſſion of abſurd and unneceſſary militia laws. Protect them as the repoſitories of a truth of the goſpel, which has exiſted in every age of the church, and which muſt ſpread hereafter over every part of the world.

The opinions reſpecting the commerce and ſlavery of the Africans, which have nearly produced a revolution in their favour, in ſome of the European governments, were tranſplanted from a ſect of chriſtians in Pennſylvania. Perhaps thoſe German ſects of chriſtians among us, who refuſe to bear arms for the purpoſe of ſhedding human blood, may be preſerved by divine providence, as the centre of a circle, which ſhall gradually embrace all the nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendſhip and peace.

Thoughts on Common Sense.

THE human mind in common with other branches of philoſophy, has become the ſubject of attention in the preſent age of free and general enquiry. While new faculties are diſcovering in it, it will conduce equally to our acquiring a perfect knowledge of its powers, to detect and remove ſuch *ſuppoſed* faculties as do not belong to it.

I have long ſuſpected the term *Common Senſe* to be applied improperly to deſignate a faculty of the mind. I ſhall not repeat the accounts which have been given of it by Cicero—Buffier—Berkely—Shafteſbury—Bentely—Fenelon—Locke—Hume—Hobs—Prieſtly and others, all of whom agree in deſcribing it as a *faculty*, or *part* of a faculty, poſſeſſing a quick and univerſal perception of *right* and *wrong*, *truth* and *error*, and of *propriety* and *impropriety* in human affairs.

I ſhall copy, as the ſubſtance of all that thoſe authors have ſaid upon this ſubject, Dr. Reid's account of common ſenſe, publiſhed in the 2d. chapter of the ſixth number of his Eſſays on the intellectual powers of man.—"It is abſurd to conceive (ſays the "Doctor) that there can be any oppoſition be-"tween reaſon and common ſenſe. It is the firſt-

" born of reaſon, and, as they are commonly joined " together in ſpeech and writing, they are inſeparable " in their nature."

" We aſcribe to reaſon two offices or two degrees. " The firſt is to judge of things ſelf-evident; the " ſecond is to draw concluſions that are not ſelf- " evident from things that are. The firſt of theſe " is the province, and the ſole province, of common " ſenſe, and therefore it *coincides* with reaſon in its " *whole* extent, and is only *another* name for one " *branch* or one *degree* of reaſon."

" There is an obvious reaſon why this degree of " reaſon ſhould have a name appropriated to it, and " that is, that in the greateſt part of mankind no " other degree of reaſon is to be found. It is this " degree of reaſon that entitles them to the denomi- " nation of reaſonable creatures."

" Theſe two degrees of reaſon differ in other " reſpects, which would be ſufficient to entitle them " to diſtinct names. The firſt is the gift of heaven— " the ſecond is learned by practice and rules, when " the firſt is not wanting."———Thus far Dr. Reid.

It is with great diffidence that I object to any thing that comes from a gentleman from whoſe writings I have derived ſo much entertainment and inſtruction, and who has done ſo much towards removing the rubbiſh that has for many ages obſcured the ſcience of metaphyſicks. This diffidence to offer a ſingle ob-

jection to Dr. Reid's opinion upon the ſubject under conſideration, is encreaſed by the groupe of popular and reſpectable names under which he has ſupported it.

The idea which I have adopted of common ſenſe is plain and ſimple. I conſider it as the perception of things as they appear to the *greateſt* part of mankind. It has no relation to their being *true* or *falſe*, *right* or *wrong*, *proper* or *improper*. For the ſake of perſpicuity, I ſhall define it to be, *Opinions and feelings in uniſon with the opinions and feelings of the bulk of mankind.*

From this definition it is evident that common ſenſe muſt neceſſarily differ in different ages and countries and, in both, muſt vary with the progreſs of taſte, ſcience, and religion. In the uncultivated ſtate of reaſon, the opinions and feelings of a majority of mankind will be *wrong*, and, of courſe, their common or univerſal ſenſe will partake of their errors. In the cultivated ſtate of reaſon, *juſt* opinions and feelings will become general, and the common ſenſe of the majority will be in uniſon with truth. I beg leave to illuſtrate what I mean by a few examples.

1. There are many things which were contrary to common ſenſe in former ages, both in philoſophy and religion, which are now univerſally believed, inſomuch that to call them in queſtion is to diſcover a want of judgment, or a defective education.

2. It is contrary to common ſenſe to ſpeak or write in favour of republicaniſm, in ſeveral European countries; and it is equally contrary to it to ſpeak or write in favour of monarchy, in the United States of America.

3. The common ſenſe of the planters in Jamaica, is in favour of the commerce and ſlavery of the Africans.—In Pennſylvania, reaſon, humanity, and common ſenſe, have univerſally declared againſt them.

4. In Turkey, it is contrary to the common ſenſe of delicacy which prevails in that country for a gentleman to dance with a lady. No ſuch common ſenſe prevails in any of the weſtern countries of Europe, or in the States of America.

5. It is contrary to the common ſenſe of many numerous ſects to believe that it is poſſible for men to go to heaven, who do not embrace their principles, or mode of worſhip.—Among rational men, this common ſenſe is contrary to truth and chriſtian religion.

6. The common ſenſe of mankind has generally been in favour of eſtabliſhed modes and habits of practice, in medicine. Opium, bark, mercury and the lancet have all forced their way into general uſe, contrary to this common ſenſe. Their utility is a proof how little common ſenſe accords with the deci-

ſions of reaſon, and how improperly it is ſuppoſed to be a part of that noble power of the mind.

7. It is agreeable to the common ſenſe of a great part of mankind, to revenge public and private injuries by wars and duels, and yet no wiſe or juſt reaſon has ever been given to juſtify the practice of either of them

8. The common ſenſe of the bulk of the inhabitants of the Britiſh dominions, and of the United States, is in favour of boys ſpending four or five years in learning the Latin and Greek languages, in order to qualify them to underſtand the Engliſh language. Thoſe perſons who recollect that the moſt perfect language in the world, viz. the Greek, was learned without the medium or aid of a dead or foreign language, conſider the above practice (founded in common ſenſe) as contrary to right reaſon and productive of many evils in education. But further, under this head. The common ſenſe of the ſame immenſe proportion of people, is in favour of teaching boys *words*, before they are taught *ideas*. Now nature and right reaſon both revolt at this abſurd practice.

9. The common ſenſe of nearly all nations, is in favour of preventing crimes, by the puniſhment of death, but right reaſon, policy, and the experience of a wiſe and enlightened prince,† all concur in proving

† Leopold Emperor of Germany.

that the beſt means of preventing crimes, is by *living* and not by *dead* examples.

In the perfection of knowledge, common ſenſe and truth will be in uniſon with each other. It is *now more* related to error than truth, and in the ſenſe in which I have deſcribed it, it implies more praiſe than cenſure to want it.

To ſay that a man has common ſenſe, is to ſay that he thinks with his age or country, in their *falſe*, as well as their *true* opinions; and the greater the proportion of people, he acts and thinks with, the greater ſhare he poſſeſſes of this common ſenſe.—After all that has been ſaid in its favour, I cannot help thinking that it is the characteriſtic only of common minds.

To think and act with the majority of mankind, when they are *right*, and differently from them, when they are *wrong*, conſtitutes in my opinion, the perfection of human wiſdom and conduct.

The *feelings* and *opinions* of mankind are often confounded; but they are widely different from each other. There may be *juſt* feelings connected with *erroneous* opinions and conduct. This is often the caſe in religion and government—But, in general, opinions and feelings are juſt and unjuſt in equal degrees, according to the circumſtances of age, country, and the progreſs of knowledge before mentioned.

Had this common ſenſe depended upon the information of any one of the *five external* ſenſes, I ſhould have had no difficulty in admitting Dr. Reid's account of it, inaſmuch as the perceptions they afford are the *ſame*, in their nature, in all healthy men, and in all ages and countries. But to ſuppoſe it to be an inferior degree, or the *firſt* act of reaſon, and afterwards to ſuppoſe it to be *univerſal*, is to contradict every thing that hiſtory and obſervation teach us of human nature.†

In matters addreſſed to our reaſon, the principal buſineſs of reaſon is to correct the evidence of our *ſenſes*. Indeed, the perception of truth, in philoſophy, ſeems to conſiſt in little elſe than in the refutation of the ideas acquired from the teſtimony of our ſenſes. In the progreſs of knowledge, when the exact connection between the ſenſes and reaſon is perfectly underſtood, it is probable that the ſenſes and reaſon will be in uniſon with each other, and that mankind will as ſuddenly connect the evidence of all the ſenſes with the deciſions of reaſon, as they now connect, with certainty, the diſtance of objects with the evidence of the eyes. This general uniſon between the ſenſes and reaſon, as in the caſe of viſion, muſt be the reſult only of experience and habit.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without adding the following remark.

† The king of Pruſſia, in his poſthumous works, ſays, "Reaſon "never did any thing great," by which he muſt have meant the *common* degrees of it, or what is called, by Dr. Reid, *common ſenſe*.

Mankind are governed, ſays Mr. Bayle, by their prejudices, and not by their principles. To do them good, we muſt, in ſome meaſure, conform to thoſe prejudices;—hence we find the moſt acceptable men in practical ſociety, have been thoſe who have never ſhocked their cotemporaries, by oppoſing popular or common opinions. Men of oppoſite characters, like objects placed too near the eye, are ſeldom ſeen diſtinctly by the age in which they live. They muſt content themſelves with the proſpects of being uſeful to the diſtant and more enlightened generations which are to follow them. Galileo, who aſked pardon of the pope, on his knees, for contradicting the *common ſenſe* of the church, reſpecting the revolution of the earth, and Dr. Harvey, who loſt all his buſineſs, by refuſing the *common ſenſe* of former ages, reſpecting the circulation of the blood, now enjoy a reputation for their opinions and diſcoveries, which has, in no inſtance ever been given to the cold blood of common ſenſe.

April 3*d* 1791.

An account of the vices peculiar to the Indians of North America.

It has become fashionable of late years for the philosophers of Europe to celebrate the virtues of the savages of America.—Whether the design of their encomiums was to expose christianity, and depreciate the advantages of civilization, I know not; but they have evidently had those effects upon the minds of weak people. Without contradicting the accounts that have been published by those gentlemen, of the virtues of the Indians in North America, I shall briefly add an account of some of their vices, in order to complete their natural history. My information shall be taken from the travels of Charlevoix—Hennepen—Carver—Romans and Bartram, and from conversations with persons of veracity who have resided among them.

The first vice I shall name, that is universal among our savages, is Uncleanness. They are, in general, strangers to the obligations both of morality and decency, as far as they relate to the marriage bed.—The exceptions to this remark, have been produced among those nations chiefly, who have had an occasional intercourse with civilized nations.

2. NASTINESS is another Indian vice. This is exemplified in their food—drinks—dreſs—perſons—and above all, in their total diſregard to decency in the *time*—*place*—and *manner* of their natural evacuations.

3. DRUNKENNESS is a more general vice among ſavages than among civilized nations.—Whole Indian tribes have been deſtroyed by it. Indeed they glory in their fondneſs for ſtrong liquors, and conſider it as a part of their character. A countryman who had dropt from his cart a keg of rum, rode back a few miles in hopes of finding it. On his way he met an Indian who lived in his neighbourhood, whom he aſked if he had ſeen his keg of rum on the road? The Indian laughed in his face, and addreſſed him in the following words. "What a fool you are to aſk "an Indian ſuch a queſtion. Don't you ſee I am "ſober? Had I met with your keg, you would "have found it empty on one ſide of the road, and "Indian Tom drunk and aſleep on the other."

4. GLUTTONY is very common among Indians. To this their long abſtinence, produced by their idleneſs, naturally tempts them.—It is very common to ſee them ſtretch themſelves on the ground after a full meal, and grunt there for ſeveral hours till they recover from the effects of their intemperance. Mr. Bartram tells us, that they ſometimes riſe in the middle of the night, in order to gratify their appetites for eating.

5. TREACHERY is another Indian vice. Who ever truſted to an Indian treaty?—They generally begin their wars, with profeſſions of peace and perpetual friendſhip.

6. The *cruelty* of Indians is well known. They conſider compaſſion as a mark of effeminacy. Their treatment of their priſoners, ſhews them to poſſeſs a ſpirit of revenge, which places them upon a footing with infernal ſpirits.

7. IDLENESS is the univerſal vice of ſavages.—They are not only too lazy to work, but even to think. Nothing but the powerful ſtimulus of hunger, or revenge, is ſufficient to rouſe them into action.

8. THEFT is an Indian vice. The Indians not only ſteal from their civilized neighbours, but from each other. A horſe—a gun—or ſpirits, have charms in the eyes of an Indian that no reſtraints can prevent his ſtealing, whenever they come in his way.

9. GAMING belongs in an eminent degree to the Catalogue of Indian vices.

10. But the infamy of the Indian character is completed by the low rank to which they degrade their women. It is well known that their women perform all their work. They not only prepare their victuals, but plant, hoe and gather their corn and roots. They are ſeldom admitted to their feaſts, or ſhare in their converſation. The men oblige them

to lie at their feet, when they ſleep *without* fire; and at their backs when they ſleep *before* a fire. They afford them no aſſiſtance in the toils of tending, feeding, and carrying their children. They are even inſenſible of the dangers to which their women are often expoſed in travelling with them. A gentleman from Northumberland county, informed me, that he once ſaw a body of Indian men and women wading acroſs the river Suſquehannah. The men arrived firſt on the oppoſite ſhore, and purſued their journey along the river. The women, ſome of whom had children on their backs, upon coming to a deep and rapid current, ſuddenly cried out for help, and made ſigns to their huſbands and fathers to come to their aſſiſtance. The men ſtood for a few minutes—and after attentively ſurveying their diſtreſs, burſted out a laughing, and then with a merry indifference, walked from them along the ſhore.

This is a ſhort nomenclature of the vices of the Indians of North America. If it were neceſſary, I would quote the chapters and pages of the authors who have eſtabliſhed by their obſervations, the truth of the character I have given of them. I am not diſpoſed to enter into an examination of their virtues, but I cannot help ſuppoſing them to be rather the *qualities of neceſſity*, than the offspring of feeling, or principle. Their hoſpitality—their friendſhips—their patience—and their fidelity to engagements, are the effects of neceſſity, and are as eſſential to their exiſtence, as

honeſty is to a band of aſſociated robbers. Their politeneſs in never contradicting any perſon, I believe is the effect of indolence, for I know of nothing that lazy people diſlike more than to diſpute, even where truth is on their ſide, or where victory is certain.—Where is the man that in a lazy fit (to which all men at times are ſubject) has not heard falſe and abſurd opinions advanced in company, without contradicting them?

The taciturnity of the Indians which has been ſo much celebrated, as a mark of their wiſdom, is the effect of their want of ideas. Except in caſes of extraordinary pride, I believe taciturnity, in nine caſes out of ten in civilized company, is the effect of ſtupidity. I will make one more exception to this rule, and that is in favour of thoſe people who are in the habits of communicating their thoughts, by writing for the public, or by correſponding with their friends. Ideas, whether acquired from books, or by reflection, produce a plethora in the mind, which can only be relieved by depletion from the pen, or tongue.

But what ſhall we ſay to the encomiums that have been laviſhed upon the love of liberty which characterizes our ſavage neighbours?—Why—that they ariſe from an ignorance of the influence of property, upon the human mind.—Property, and a regard for law, are born together in all ſocieties. The paſſion

for liberty in an Indian, is as different from the paſſion for it in a civilized republican, as the impurity of luſt, is from the delicacy of love There is a certain medium to be obſerved between an affection for law, and for liberty. An exceſs of the former has ſometimes led to tyranny, while an exceſs of the latter, leads to idleneſs and vice. The Athenians appear to have been intoxicated with an exceſs of liberty when they ſpent their whole time in hearing and telling news. There is always an exceſs of law or liberty in a community where poor men are idle, or where vices of any kind are ſuffered with impunity.

The only reflections that I ſhall add upon this ſubject, ſhall be,—how great are the bleſſings of civil government which extirpates, reſtrains, or puniſhes the vices that have been mentioned! and how great is the efficacy of chriſtianity, which, by purifying the heart, renders the practice of the contrary virtues natural and agreeable?

Observations upon the influence of the habitual use of Tobacco upon health, morals, and property.

WERE it poſſible for a being who had reſided upon our globe, to viſit the inhabitants of a planet, where reaſon governed, and to tell them that a vile weed was in general uſe among the inhabitants of the globe it had left, which afforded no nouriſhment—that this weed was cultivated with immenſe care—that it was an important article of commerce—that the want of it produced real miſery—that its taſte was extremely nauſeous, that it was unfriendly to health and morals, and that its uſe was attended with a conſiderable loſs of time and property, the account would be thought incredible, and the author of it would probably be excluded from ſociety, for relating a ſtory of ſo improbable a nature. In no one view, is it poſſible to contemplate the creature man in a more abſurd and ridiculous light, than in his attachment to Tobacco.

This weed is of a ſtimulating nature, whether it be uſed in ſmoaking, chewing or in ſnuff. Like Opium and ſpirituous liquors, it is ſought for in all thoſe caſes where the body is debilitated *indirectly* by intemperance in eating, or by exceſſive application to ſtudy, or buſineſs, or *directly* by ſedative paſſions of the mind,

particularly by grief and fear. Perſons after loſing relations or friends by death, often reſort to it. One of the greateſt ſnuffers I ever knew, uſed it for the firſt time, in order to conſole her under a preſentiment ſhe entertained, that ſhe ſhould die in childbed. Fear creates a deſire for Tobacco. Hence it is uſed in a greater quantity by ſoldiers and ſailors than by other claſſes of people. It is uſed moſt profuſely by ſoldiers when they act as picket guards, or centinels, and by ſailors in ſtormy weather. Perſons labouring under that ſtate of madneſs which is accompanied with a ſenſe of miſery, are much devoted to it, hence the tenants of mad-houſes often accoſt their attendants and viſitors, with petitions for Tobacco.

The progreſs of habit in the uſe of Tobacco is exactly the ſame as in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors. The ſlaves of it begin, by uſing it only after dinner—then during the whole afternoon, and evening, afterwards before dinner, then before breakfaſt, and finally during the whole night. I knew a Lady who had paſſed through all theſe ſtages, who uſed to wake regularly two or three times every night to compoſe her ſyſtem with freſh doſes of ſnuff. Again—the progreſs in the decay of the ſenſibility of the noſe to the ſtimulus of ſnuff is analogous to the decay of the ſenſibility of the ſtomach, to the ſtimulus of ſpirituous liquors. It feels for a while the action of Rappee; next it requires Scotch ſnuff, afterwards Iriſh-blackguard—and finally it is affected only by a

compoſition of Tobacco and ground glaſs. This mixture is to the noſe, what Cayenne pepper and Jamaica ſpirits are to the ſtomachs of habitual dram drinkers.

The appetite for Tobacco is wholly artificial. No perſon was ever born with a reliſh for it. Even in thoſe perſons who are much attached to it, nature frequently recovers her diſreliſh to it. It ceaſes to be agreeable in every febrile indiſpoſition. This is ſo invariably true, that a diſreliſh to it is often a ſign of an approaching, and a return of the appetite for it, a ſign of a departing fever.

In conſidering the pernicious effects of Tobacco, I ſhall begin agreeably to the order I have laid down, by taking notice of its influence upon health; and here I ſhall mention its effects not only upon the body, but upon the mind.

1. It impairs the appetite. Where it does not produce this effect,

2. It prevents the early and complete digeſtion of the food, and thereby induces diſtreſſing, and incurable diſeaſes not only of the ſtomach, but of the whole body. This effect of Tobacco is the reſult of the waſte of the ſaliva in chewing, and ſmoking, or of the Tobacco inſinuating itſelf into the ſtomach, when uſed in chewing, or ſnuffing.———I once loſt a young man of 17 years of age, of a pulmonary conſump-

tion, whoſe diſorder was brought on by the intemperate uſe of ſegars.

3. It produces many of thoſe diſeaſes which are ſuppoſed to be ſeated in the nerves. The late Sir John Pringle was ſubject in the evening of his life to tremors in his hands. In his laſt viſit to France, a few years before he died, in company with Dr. Franklin, he was requeſted by the Doctor to obſerve, that the ſame diſorder was very common among thoſe people of faſhion who were great ſnuffers. Sir John was led by this remark to ſuſpect that his tremors were occaſioned by ſnuff which he took in large quantities. He immediately left off taking it, and ſoon afterwards recovered the perfect uſe of his hands. I have ſeen head-ache, vertigo, and epilepſy produced by the uſe of Tobacco. A Phyſician in Connecticut has remarked that it has in ſeveral inſtances produced palſy and apoplexy, and Dr. Tiſſot aſcribes ſudden death in one inſtance, to the exceſſive uſe of it in ſmoking.

4. A citizen of Philadelphia loſt all his teeth by drawing the hot ſmoke of Tobacco into his mouth by means of ſhort pipe, and I have been informed of a cancer on the lip which terminated fatally from the ſame cauſe, in a farmer in Northumberland county in this ſtate. The acrid nature of the matter which is mixed with the ſmoke of the Tobacco may eaſily be diſcovered by the taſte or ſmell of a pipe ſtem that has been in uſe for two or three weeks.

5. Tobacco when uſed in the form of ſnuff ſeldom fails of impairing the voice by obſtructing the noſe. It moreover imparts to the complexion a diſagreeable duſky colour.

I have thus briefly enumerated the morbid effects of Tobacco upon the human body. It remains under this head to mention, that the want of it is a ſource of uneaſineſs more diſtreſſing than many bodily diſorders. This uneaſineſs in perſons who have long been accuſtomed to the uſe of Tobacco has in ſome inſtances produced an agitation of mind that has bordered upon diſtraction. Colonel Burr informed me that the greateſt complaints of diſſatisfaction and ſuffering that he heard among the ſoldiers who accompanied General Arnold in his march from Boſton to Quebec through the wilderneſs in the year 1775, were from the want of Tobacco. This was the more remarkable, as they were ſo deſtitute of proviſions as to be obliged to kill, and eat their dogs. The Perſians, we are told by travellers, often expatriate themſelves, when they are forbidden the uſe of Tobacco, in order to enjoy it in a foreign country. Theſe facts will not ſurprize thoſe perſons who have been accuſtomed to view our appetites when perverted to ſuch things as are artificial and diſagreeable, to be much more ungovernable than the appetite for things that are originally natural and agreeable.

But the uſe of Tobacco has been known to produce a more ſerious effect upon the mind than the diſtreſs that has been mentioned. Sir John Pringle's memory was impaired by ſnuff. This was proved by his recovering the perfect exerciſe of it after he left off taking ſnuff agreeably to the advice of his friend Dr. Franklin. Dr. Maſillac informed me that his father loſt his memory at forty years of age by the exceſſive uſe of ſnuff. He took for ſeveral years two ounces of it every day.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations upon the morbid effects of Tobacco it has been ſaid,

1. That it poſſeſſes many medical virtues. I grant it, and the facts which eſtabliſh its utility in medicine furniſh us with additional arguments againſt the *habitual* uſe of it. How feeble would be the effects of opium, and bark upon the body if they conſtituted a part of the condiments of our daily food;—While I admit the efficacy of Tobacco as a medicine, I cannot help adding, that ſome of the diſeaſes, or ſymptoms of diſeaſes which it relieves, are evidently induced by the habit of uſing it. Thus a dram of ardent ſpirits ſuſpends, for a while, a vomiting and tremors of the hands, but who does not know that thoſe complaints, are the effects of the intemperate and habitual uſe of ſpirituous liquors?

2. The advocates for Tobacco, tell us that ſmoking, and ſnuff relieve that uneaſineſs which ſucceeds

a plentiful meal. I admit that the ſtimulars of the Tobacco reſtores the ſyſtem from the indirect weakneſs which is induced by intemperance in eating, but the relief which is thus obtained, illy compenſates for the waſte of the ſaliva in ſmoking, at a time when it is moſt wanted, or for the mixture of a portion of the Tobacco with the aliment in the ſtomach by means of ſnuffing. But why ſhould we cure one evil by producing another? would it not be much better to obviate the neceſſity of uſing Tobacco by always eating a moderate meal? The recollection of the remedy probably diſpoſes to that intemperance in eating which produces the uneaſineſs that has been mentioned.

3. We are ſometimes told that Tobacco is a preſervative from contagious diſeaſes. But many facts contradict this aſſertion. Mr. Howard informs us that it had no efficacy in checking the contagion of the plague, and repeated experience in Philadelphia has proved, that it is equally ineffectual in preſerving thoſe who uſe it, from the Influenza and Yellow Fever.

4. It has been further ſaid that chewing and ſmoking Tobacco aſſiſt the intellectual operations. So do wine, and diſtilled ſpirits, but ſhall we upon that account, have recourſe to thoſe liquors when we wiſh to ſtimulate our thinking faculties? Tea and Coffee are to be preferred, when we wiſh to ſtimulate the mind. Mr. Pope recommends a trotting horſe for the ſame purpoſe. Rouſſeau excited his invention by

walking backwards and forwards in his room. I ſuſpect that Tobacco is often uſed, rather to ſupply the *want* of ideas than to *collect*, or excite them. The abſence of ſenſation, whether of external impreſſions upon the body, or of the re-action of the mind in thought, is always accompanied with miſery. The Indians afford a ſtriking proof of this remark—hence they ſpend whole days and even weeks in ſmoking, in order to relieve themſelves from the anguiſh which attends the inactivity and vacuum of their minds.

We proceed next to mention the influence of the habitual uſe of Tobacco upon morals.

1. One of the uſual effects of ſmoking and chewing is thirſt. This thirſt cannot be allayed by water, for no ſedative or even inſipid liquor will be reliſhed after the mouth and throat have been expoſed to the ſtimulus of the ſmoke, or juice of Tobacco. A deſire of courſe is excited for ſtrong drinks, and theſe when taken between meals ſoon lead to intemperance and drunkenneſs. One of the greateſt ſots I ever knew, acquired a love for ardent ſpirits by ſwallowing cuds of Tobacco, which he did, to eſcape detection in the uſe of it, for he had contracted the habit of chewing, contrary to the advice and commands of his father. He died of a Dropſy under my care in the year 1780.

2. The uſe of Tobacco, more eſpecially in ſmoking, diſpoſes to idleneſs, and idleneſs has been con-

ſidered as the root of all evil. "An idle man's brain, "(ſays the celebrated and original Mr. Bunyan) "is the Devil's work ſhop."

3. The uſe of Tobacco is neceſſarily connected with the neglect of cleanlineſs. The influence of this neglect upon morals has been happily pointed out in an extract from captain Cooke's journal, which is publiſhed by Sir John Pringle in one of his Orations before the Royal Society of London.

4. Tobacco, more eſpecially when uſed in ſmoking, is generally *offenſive* to thoſe people who do not uſe it. To ſmoke in company under ſuch circumſtances, is a breach of good manners; now, manners have an influence upon morals. They may be conſidered as the out poſts of virtue. A habit of offending the ſenſes of friends or ſtrangers by the uſe of Tobacco, cannot therefore be indulged with innocence. It produces a want of reſpect for our fellow creatures, and this always diſpoſes to unkind and unjuſt behaviour towards them. Who ever knew a rude man completely, or uniformly moral?

The methodiſts forbad the uſe of Tobacco in the infancy of their ſociety. The prohibition diſcovered a high and juſt ſenſe of the ſelf-denial, decency, and univerſal civility which are required by the goſpel. What reception may we ſuppoſe would the apoſtles have met with, had they carried into the cities and houſes to which they were ſent, ſnuff-boxes, pipes,

ſegars, and bundles of cut, or rolls of hog, or pigtail Tobacco? Such a coſtly and offenſive apparatus for gratifying their appetites, would have furniſhed ſolid objections to their perſons and doctrines, and would have been a juſt cauſe for the clamors and contempt which were excited againſt them. It is agreeable to obſerve that a regard to good manners, upon this ſubject, has at laſt awakened in ſome parts of the world. In England ſmoking is not permitted in taverns and coffee houſes until after 10 o'clock at night, and in France ſnuffing is becoming unfaſhionable and vulgar. How much is it to be lamented that while the uſe of Tobacco is declining in two of the moſt enlightned countries in Europe, it is becoming more general in America. Who can ſee groups of boys of ſix or eight years old in our ſtreets ſmoking ſegars, without anticipating ſuch a depreciation of our poſterity in health and character, as can ſcarcely be contemplated at this diſtance of time without pain and horror!

It remains now that I briefly point out the influence of the uſe of Tobacco upon time and property. Snuffing makes a great inroad upon time. A man who takes a pinch of ſnuff every twenty minutes, (which moſt habitual ſnuffers do) and ſnuffs fifteen hours in four and twenty, (allowing him to conſume not quite half a minute every time he uſes his box,) will waſte about five whole days of every year of his life in this uſeleſs, and unwholeſome practice. But

when we add to the profitable uſe to which this time might have been applied, the expenſes of Tobacco, pipes, ſnuff and ſpitting boxes—and of the injuries which are done to the cloathing, during a whole life, the aggregate ſum would probably amount to ſeveral hundred dollars. To a labouring man this would be a decent portion for a ſon or daughter, while the ſame ſum, ſaved by a man in affluent circumſtances, would have enabled him by a contribution to a public charity to have leſſened a large portion of the ignorance, or miſery of mankind.

In reviewing the account that has been given of the diſagreeable and miſchievous effects of Tobacco, we are led to enquire, what are its uſes upon our globe,—for we are aſſured that nothing, exiſts in vain. Poiſon is a relative term, and the moſt noxious plants have been diſcovered to afford ſuſtenance to certain animals. But what animal beſides man, will take Tobacco into its mouth? Horſes, Cows, Sheep, Cats, Dogs, and even hogs refuſe to taſte it. Flies, Moſquitoes, and the moth are chaſed from our cloaths by the ſmell of it. But let us not arraign the wiſdom and œconomy of nature in the production of this plant. Modern Travellers have at laſt diſcovered that it conſtitutes the food of a ſolitary and filthy wild beaſt, well known in the deſarts of Africa, by the name of the ROCK GOAT.

I ſhall conclude theſe obſervations by relating an Anecdote of the late Dr. Franklin. A few months before his death, he declared to one of his friends that he had never uſed Tobacco in any way in the courſe of his long life, and that he was diſpoſed to believe there was not much advantage to be derived from it, for that he had never met with a man who uſed it, who adviſed him to follow his example.

An account of the Sugar Maple-tree of the United States. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. then secretary of State of the United States, and one of Vice presidents of the American Philosophical society.

Dear Sir,

In obedience to your requeſt, I have ſat down to communicate to our Society through the medium of a letter to you, a ſhort account of the *Sugar Maple-tree* of the United States, together with ſuch facts and remarks as I have been able to collect, upon the methods of obtaining Sugar from it, and upon the advantages both public and private, of this Sugar.

The *Acer Sacharinum* of Linnæus, or the Sugar Maple-tree, grows in great quantities in the weſtern counties of all the Middle States of the American Union. Thoſe which grow in New-York and Pennſylvania yield the Sugar in a greater quantity than thoſe which grow on the waters of the Ohio.—These trees are generally found mixed with the Beech, (a) Hemlock, (b) White and water Aſh, (c) the Cucumber tree, (d) Linden, (e) Aſpen, (f) Butter Nut, (g) and Wild Cherry trees (h). They ſometimes appear in groves covering five or ſix acres in a body,

(a) Fagus Ferruginea. (b) Pinus abies. (c) Fraxinus Americana. (d) Magnolia acuminata. (e) Tilia Americana. (f) Populus tremula. (g) Juglans alba (oblonga.) (h) Prunus Virginiana, of Linnæus.

but they are more commonly interſperſed with ſome, or all of the foreſt trees which have been mentioned. From 30 to 50 trees are generally found upon an acre of ground. They grow only in the richeſt ſoils and frequently in ſtony ground. Springs of the pureſt water abound in their neighbourhood. They are when fully grown as tall as the white and black oaks, and from two to three feet in diameter.* They put forth a beautiful white bloſſom in the Spring before they ſhow a ſingle leaf. The colour of the bloſom diſtinguiſhes them from the *acer rubrum*, or the common maple, which affords a bloſſom of a red colour. The wood of the Sugar Maple-tree is extremely inflammable, and is preferred upon that account by hunters and ſurveyors for fire-wood. Its ſmall branches are ſo much impregnated with ſugar as to afford ſupport to the cattle, horſes, and ſheep of the firſt ſettlers during the winter, before they are able to cultivate forage for that purpoſe. Its aſhes afford a great quantity of pot aſh, exceeded by few, or perhaps by none of the trees that grow in the woods of the United States.

The tree is ſuppoſed to arrive at its full growth in the woods in twenty years.

* Baron La Hontan, in his voyage to North America, gives the following account of the Maple-tree in Canada. After deſcribing the black Cherry-tree, ſome of which he ſays are as tall as the loftieſt oaks, and as big as a hogſhead, he adds, "The Maple-tree is much of the ſame "height and bulk. It bears no reſemblance to that ſort we have in "Europe."

It is not injured by tapping; on the contrary, the oftner it is tapped, the more ſyrup is obtained from it. In this reſpect it follows a law of animal ſecretion. A ſingle tree has not only ſurvived, but flouriſhed after *forty-two* tappings in the ſame number of years. The effects of a yearly diſcharge of ſap from the tree in improving and increaſing the ſap, is demonſtrated from the ſuperior excellence of thoſe trees which have been perforated in an hundred places, by a ſmall wood-pecker which feeds upon the ſap. The trees after having been wounded in this way, diſtil the remains of their juice on the ground, and afterwards acquire a black colour. The ſap of theſe trees is much ſweeter to the taſte than that which is obtained from trees which have not been previouſly wounded, and it affords more ſugar.

From twenty-three gallons and one quart of ſap procured in twenty hours from only two of theſe dark coloured trees, Arthur Noble, Eſq. of the ſtate of New-York, obtained four pounds and thirteen ounces of good grained ſugar.

A tree of an ordinary ſize yields in a good ſeaſon from twenty to thirty gallons of ſap, from which are made from five to ſix pounds of ſugar. To this there are ſometimes remarkable exceptions. Samuel Low, Eſq. a Juſtice of Peace in Montgomery county, in the ſtate of New-York, informed Arthur Noble, Eſq. that he had made twenty pounds and one ounce of

ſugar between the 14th and 23d of April, in the year 1789, from a ſingle tree that had been tapped for ſeveral ſucceſſive years before.

From the influence which culture has upon foreſt and other trees, it has been ſuppoſed, that by tranſplanting the Sugar Maple tree into a garden, or by deſtroying ſuch other trees as ſhelter it from the rays of the Sun, the quantity of the ſap might be increaſed; and its quality much improved. I have heard of one fact which favours this opinion. A farmer in Northampton county in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, planted a number of theſe trees above twenty years ago in his meadow, from *three* gallons of the ſap of which he obtains every year a pound of ſugar. It was remarked formerly that it required *five* or *ſix* gallons of the ſap of the trees which grow in the woods, to produce the ſame quantity of ſugar.

The ſap diſtils from the *wood* of the tree. Trees which have been cut down in the winter for the ſupport of the domeſtic animals of the new ſettlers, yield a conſiderable quantity of ſap as ſoon as their trunks and limbs feel the rays of the Sun in the ſpring of the year.

It is in conſequence of the ſap of theſe trees being equally diffuſed through every part of them, that they live three years after they are *girdled*, that is, after a circular inciſion is made through the bark into the ſubſtance of the tree for the purpoſe of deſtroying it.

It is remarkable that graſs thrives better under this tree in a meadow, than in ſituations expoſed to the conſtant action of the Sun.

The ſeaſon for tapping the trees is in February, March, and April, according to the weather which occurs in theſe months.

Warm days *and froſty* nights are moſt favourable to a plentiful diſcharge of ſap.* The quantity obtained in a day from a tree, is from five gallons to a pint, according to the greater or leſs heat of the air. Mr. Low, informed Arthur Noble, Eſq. that he obtained near three and twenty gallons of ſap in one day (April 14, 1789.) from the ſingle tree which was before mentioned. Such inſtances of a profuſion of ſap in ſingle trees are however not very common.

There is always a ſuſpenſion of the diſcharge of of ſap in the night if a froſt ſucceed a warm day. The perforation in the tree is made with an axe or an auger. The latter is preferred from experience of its advantages. The auger is introduced about three-quarters of an inch, and in an aſcending direction (that the

* The influence of the weather in increaſing and leſſening the diſcharge of the ſap from trees is very remarkable.

Dr. Tongue ſuppoſed long ago (Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 68) that changes in the weather of every kind might be better aſcertained by the diſcharges of ſap from trees than by weather glaſſes. I have ſeen a journal of the effects of heat, cold, moiſture, drought and thunder upon the diſcharges from the ſugar trees, which diſpoſes me to believe that there is ſome foundation for Dr. Tongue's opinion.

ſap may not be frozen in a ſlow current in the mornings or evenings) and is afterwards deepened gradually to the extent of two inches. A ſpout is introduced about half an inch into the hole, made by this auger, and projects from three to twelve inches from the tree. The ſpout is generally made of the Sumach (a) or Elder, (b) which commonly grow in the neighbourhood of the ſugar trees. The tree is firſt tapped on the *South* ſide; when the diſcharge of its ſap begins to leſſen, an opening is made on its *North* ſide, from which an increaſed diſcharge takes place. The ſap flows from four to ſix weeks, according to the temperature of the weather. Troughs large enough to contain three or four gallons made of white pine, or white aſh, or of dried water aſh, aſpen, linden, poplar, (c) or common maple, are placed under the ſpout, to receive the ſap, which is carried every day to a large receiver, made of either of the trees before mentioned. From this receiver it is conveyed, after being ſtrained, to the boiler.

To preſerve the ſap from rain and impurities of all kinds, it is a good practice to cover the troughs with a concave board, with a hole in the middle of it.

It remains yet to be determined whether ſome artificial heat may be applied ſo as to increaſe the quantity

(a) Rhus. (b) Sambucus canadenſis. (c) Liriodendron Tulipifera.

and improve the quality of the ſap. Mr. Noble informed me, that he ſaw a tree, under which a farmer had accidently burnt ſome bruſh, which dropped a a thick heavy ſyrup reſembling molaſſes. This fact may probably lead to ſomething uſeful hereafter.

During the remaining part of the ſpring months, as alſo in the Summer, and in the beginning of Autumn, the maple tree yields a thin ſap, but not fit for the manufactory of ſugar. It affords a pleaſant drink in harveſt, and has been uſed inſtead of rum, in ſome inſtances by thoſe farmers in Connecticut, whoſe anceſtors have left to them here, and there, a ſugar maple tree, (probably to ſhade their cattle,) in all their fields. Mr. Bruce deſcribes a drink of the ſame kind, prepared by the inhabitants of Egypt, by infuſing the ſugar cane in water, which he declares to be "the moſt refreſhing drink in the world."*

* Baron La Hontan, gives the following account of the ſap of the ſugar maple-tree, when uſed as a drink, and of the manner of obtaining it. "The tree yields a ſap which has a much pleaſanter taſte than the beſt lemonade or cherry water, and makes the wholeſomeſt drink in the world. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree two inches deep in the wood, the cut being made ſloping to the length of ten or twelve inches; at the lower end of this gaſh, a knife is thruſt into the tree ſlopingly, ſo that the water runs along the cut or gaſh, as through a gutter and falls upon the knife, which has ſome veſſels placed underneath to receive it. Some trees will yield five or ſix bottles of this water in a day, and ſome inhabitants of Canada might draw twenty hogſheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the maple trees of their reſpective plantations. The gaſh does no *harm to the tree.* Of this ſap they make ſugar and ſyrup which is ſo valuable that there can be no better

There are three methods of reducing the ſap to ſugar.

1. By *freezing* it; this method has been tried for many years, by Mr. Obediah Scott, a farmer in Luzerne county in this ſtate, with great ſucceſs. He ſays that one half of a given quantity of ſap reduced in this way, is better than one-third of the ſame quantity reduced by boiling. If the froſt ſhould not be intenſe enough, to reduce the ſap to the graining point, it may afterwards be expoſed to the action of the fire for that purpoſe.

2. By *ſpontaneous evaporation.* The hollow ſtump of a maple-ſugar tree, which had been cut down in the ſpring, and which was found ſometime afterwards filled with ſugar, firſt ſuggeſted this method of obtaining ſugar to our farmers. So many circumſtances of cold and dry weather, large and flat veſſels, and above all ſo much time are neceſſary to obtain ſugar, by either of the above methods, that the moſt general method among our farmers is to obtain it,

3. By *boiling.* For this purpoſe the following facts which have been aſcertained by many experiments, deſerve attention.

1. The ſooner the ſap is boiled, after it is collected from the tree, the better. It ſhould never be kept

remedy for fortifying the ſtomach. "Tis but few of the inhabiants that have the patience to make them, for as common things are ſlighted, ſo there are ſcarce any body but children that give themſelves the trouble of gaſhing theſe trees."

longer than twenty four hours, before it is put over the fire.

2. The larger the veſſel in which the ſap is boiled, the more ſugar is obtained from it.

3. A copper veſſel affords a ſugar of a fairer colour than an iron veſſel.

The ſap flows into wooden troughs from which it is carried and poured into ſtone troughs or large ciſterns in the ſhape of a canoe or large manger made of white aſh, linden, baſs wood, or white pine, from which it is conveyed to the kettle in which it is to be boiled. Theſe ciſterns, as well as the kettle, are generally covered by a ſhed to defend the ſap from the rain. The ſugar is improved by ſtraining the ſap through a blanket or cloth, either before or after it is half boiled. Butter, hogs lard, or tallow are added to the ſap in the kettle to prevent its boiling over, and lime, eggs or new-milk are mixed with it in order to clarify it. I have ſeen clear ſugar made without the addition of either of them. A ſpoonful of ſlack lime, the white of one egg, and a pint of new-milk are the uſual proportions of theſe articles which are mixed with fifteen gallons of ſap. In ſome ſamples which I have lately ſeen of maple-ſugar clarified with each of the above articles, that, in which milk alone was uſed, had an evident ſuperiority over the others, in point of colour.

The ſugar after being ſufficiently boiled, is *grained* and *clayed*, and afterwards *refined*, or converted into

loaf ſugar. The methods of conducting each of theſe proceſſes is ſo nearly the ſame with thoſe which are uſed in the manufactory of Weſt-India ſugar, and are ſo generally known, that I need not ſpend any time in deſcribing them.

It has been a ſubject of enquiry whether the maple ſugar might not be improved in its quality and increaſed in its quantity by the eſtabliſhment of boiling houſes in the ſugar maple country to be conducted by *aſſociated* labor. From the ſcattered ſituation of the trees, the difficulty of carrying the ſap to a great diſtance, and from the many expenſes which muſt accrue from ſupporting labourers and horſes in the woods in a ſeaſon of the year in which nature affords no ſuſtenance to man or beaſt, I am diſpoſed to believe that the moſt productive method both in quantity and profit of obtaining this ſugar will be by the labor of private families. For a great number of years many hundred private families in New-York and Pennſylvania have ſupplied themſelves plentifully with this ſugar during the whole year. I have heard of many families who have made from two to four hundred pounds in a year; and of one man who ſold ſix hundred pounds, all made with his own hands in one ſeaſon.*

* *The following receipts publiſhed by William Cooper, Eſq. in the Albany Gazette, fully eſtabliſhes this fact.*

"Received, Cooper's Town, April 30th, 1790, of William Cooper, ſixteen pounds, for ſix hundred and forty pounds of ſugar made with *my*

Not more knowledge is neceſſary for making this ſugar than is required to make ſoap, cyder, beer, ſour-crout, &c. and yet one or all of theſe are made in moſt of the farm houſes of the United States. The kettles and other utenſils of a farmer's kitchen, will ſerve moſt of the purpoſes of making ſugar, and the time required for the labor, (if it deſerves that name) is at a ſeaſon when it is impoſſible for the farmer to employ himſelf in any ſpecies of agriculture. His wife and all his children above ten years of age, moreover may aſſiſt him in this buſineſs, for the profit of the weakeſt of them is nearly equal to that of a man, when hired for that purpoſe.

A comparative view of this ſugar has been frequently made with the ſugar which is obtained from the Weſt India ſugar cane, with reſpect to its *quality*, *price*, and the poſſible or probable *quantity* that can be made of it in the United States, each of which I ſhall conſider in order.

1. The *quality* of this ſugar is neceſſarily better than that which is made in the Weſt-Indies. It is prepared in a ſeaſon when not a ſingle inſect exiſts to feed upon it, or to mix its excretions with it, and

own Lands, without any aſſiſtance in leſs than four weeks, beſides attending to the other buſineſs of my farm, as providing fire wood, taking care of the cattle, &c. John Nicholls. Witneſs R. Smith.

A ſingle family, conſiſting of a man and his two ſons, on the maple ſugar lands between the Delaware and Suſquehannah made 1800lb. of maple ſugar in one ſeaſon.

before a particle of duſt or of the pollen of plants can float in the air. The ſame obſervation cannot be applied to the Weſt-India ſugar. The inſects and worms which prey upon it, and of courſe mix with it, compoſe a page in a nomenclature of natural hiſtory. I ſhall ſay nothing of the hands which are employed in making ſugar in the Weſt-Indies but, that men who work for the excluſive benefit of others, are not under the ſame obligations to keep their perſons clean while they are employed in this work, that men women and children are, who work excluſively for the benefit of *themſelves*, and who have been educated in the habits of cleanlineſs. The ſuperior purity of the maple ſugar is farther proved by its leaving a leſs ſediment when diſſolved in water, than the Weſt-India ſugar.

It has been ſuppoſed that the maple ſugar is inferior to the Weſt-India ſugar in *ſtrength*. The experiments which led to this opinion, I ſuſpect have been inaccurate, or have been made with maple ſugar, prepared in a ſlovenly manner. I have examined equal quantities, by weight, of both the grained and the loaf ſugar, in hyſon tea, and in coffee, made in every reſpect equal by the minuteſt circumſtances that could affect the quality or taſte of each of them, and could perceive no inferiority in the ſtrength of the maple ſugar. The liquors which decided this queſtion were examined at the ſame time, by Alexander Hamilton, Eſq. Secretary of the Treaſury of the

United States, Mr. Henry Drinker, and ſeveral Ladies, who all concurred in the above opinion.

2. Whoever conſiders that the gift of the ſugar maple trees is from a benevolent Providence, that we have many millions of acres in our country covered with them, that the tree is improved by repeated tappings, and that the ſugar is obtained by the frugal labor of a farmer's family, and at the ſame time conſiders the labor of cultivating the ſugar cane, the the capitals ſunk in ſugar works, the firſt coſt of ſlaves and cattle, the expenſes of proviſions for both of them, and in ſome inſtances the additional expenſe of conveying the ſugar to a market, in all the Weſt-India Iſlands, will not heſitate in believing that the maple ſugar may be manufactured much cheaper, and ſold at a *leſs price* than that which is made in the Weſt-Indies.

3. The reſources for making a ſufficient *quantity* of this ſugar not only for the conſumption of the United States, but for exportation, will appear from the following facts. There are in the ſtates of New-York, and Pennſylvania alone at leaſt ten millions of acres of land which produce the ſugar maple-tree, in the proportion of thirty trees to one acre. Now, ſuppoſing all the perſons capable of labor in a family to conſiſt of three, and each perſon to attend 150 trees and each tree to yield 5lbs. of ſugar in a ſeaſon, the product of the labor of 60,000 families

would be 135,000,000 pounds of ſugar, and allowing the inhabitants of the United States to compoſe 600,000 families, each of which conſumed 200 pounds of ſugar in a year, the whole conſumption would be 120,000,000 pounds in a year, which would leave a balance of 15,000,000 pounds for exportation. Valuing the ſugar at 6-90 of a dollar per pound, the ſum ſaved to the United States would be 8,000,000 dollars by home conſumption, and the ſum gained by exportation would be 1,000,000 dollars. The only part of this calculation that will appear improbable is, the number of families ſuppoſed to be employed in the manufactory of the ſugar, but the difficulty of admitting this ſuppoſition will vaniſh when we conſider, that double that number of families are employed every year, in making cyder, the trouble, riſks and expenſes of which are all much greater than thoſe of making maple-ſugar.

But the profit of the maple tree is not confined to its ſugar. It affords a moſt agreeable molaſſes, and an excellent vinegar. The ſap which is ſuitable for theſe purpoſes is obtained after the ſap which affords the ſugar has ceaſed to flow, ſo that the manufactories of theſe different products of the maple tree, by *ſucceeding*, do not interfere with each other. The molaſſes may be made to compoſe the baſis of a pleaſant ſummer beer. The ſap of the maple is moreover capable of affording a ſpirit, but we hope this precious juice will never be proſtitued by our citi-

zens to this ignoble purpoſe. Should the uſe of ſugar in diet become more general in our country, it may tend to leſſen the inclination or ſuppoſed neceſſity for ſpirits, for I have obſerved a reliſh for ſugar in diet to be ſeldom accompanied by a love for ſtrong drink. It is the ſugar which is mixed with tea which makes it ſo generally diſagreeable to drunkards. But a diet, conſiſting of a plentiful mixture of ſugar has other advantages to recommend it, which I ſhall briefly enumerate.

1. Sugar affords the greateſt quantity of nouriſhment in a given quantity of matter of any ſubſtance in nature; of courſe it may be preſerved in leſs room in our houſes, and may be conſumed in leſs time, than more bulky and leſs nouriſhing aliment. It has this peculiar advantage over moſt kinds of aliment, that it is not liable to have its nutritious qualities affected by time or the weather, hence it is preferred by the Indians in their excurſions from home. They mix a certain quantity of Maple ſugar, with an equal quantity of Indian corn, dried and powdered, in its milky ſtate. This mixture is packed in little baſkets, which are frequently wetted in travelling, without injuring the ſugar. A few ſpoons full of it mixed with half a pint of ſpring water, afford them a pleaſant and ſtrengthening meal. From the degrees of ſtrength and nouriſhment, which are conveyed into animal bodies by a ſmall bulk of ſugar, I conceive it might be given to horſes with great advantage, when

they are uſed in circumſtances which make it difficult or expenſive to ſupport them, with more bulky or weighty aliment. A pound of ſugar with graſs or hay, I have been told, has ſupported the ſtrength and ſpirits of an horſe, during a whole day's labour in one of the Weſt-India Iſlands. A larger quantity given alone, has fattened horſes and cattle during the war before laſt in Hiſpaniola, for a period of ſeveral months, in which the exportation of ſugar, and the importation of grain, were prevented by the want of ſhips.

2. The plentiful uſe of ſugar in diet, is one of the beſt preventives that has ever been diſcovered of the diſeaſes which are produced by worms. The Author of Nature ſeems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children, as if it were on purpoſe to defend them from thoſe diſeaſes. I know a gentleman in Philadelphia, who early adopted this opinion, and who by indulging a large family of children, in the uſe of ſugar, has preſerved them all from the diſeaſes uſually occaſioned by worms.

3. Sir John Pringle has remarked, that the plague has never been known in any country where ſugar compoſes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants. I think it probable, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been leſſened by this diet, and that its more general uſe would defend that claſs of people, who are moſt ſubject to malignant fevers, from being ſo often affected by them.

4. In the numerous and frequent diſorders of the breaſt, which occur in all countries, where the body is expoſed to a variable temperature of weather, ſugar affords the baſis of many agreeable remedies. It is uſeful in weakneſſes, and acrid defluxions upon other parts of the body. Many facts might be adduced in favor of this aſſertion. I ſhall mention only one, which from the venerable name of the perſon, whoſe caſe furniſhed it, cannot fail of commanding attention and credit. Upon my enquiring of Dr. Franklin, at the requeſt of a friend, about a year before he died, whether he had found any relief from the pain of the ſtone, from the Blackberry Jam, of which he took large quantities, he told me that he had, but that he believed the medicinal part of the jam, reſided wholly in the ſugar, and as a reaſon for thinking ſo, he added, that he often found the ſame relief, by taking about half a pint of a ſyrup, prepared by boiling a little brown ſugar in water, juſt before he went to bed, that he did from a doſe of opium. It has been ſuppoſed by ſome of the early phyſicians of our country, that the ſugar obtained from the maple tree, is more medicinal, than that obtained from the Weſt-India ſugar cane, but this opinion I believe is without foundation. It is preferable in its qualities to the Weſt-India ſugar only from its ſuperior *cleanlineſs*.

Caſes may occur in which ſugar may be required in medicine, or in diet, by perſons who refuſe to be

benefited, even indirectly by the labour of ſlaves. In ſuch caſes, the innocent maple ſugar will always be preferred*.

It has been ſaid, that ſugar injures the teeth, but this opinion now has ſo few advocates, that it does not deſerve a ſerious refutation.

To tranſmit to future generations, all the advantages which have been enumerated from the maple tree, it will be neceſſary to protect it by law, or by a bounty upon the maple ſugar, from being deſtroyed by the ſettlers in the maple country, or to tranſplant it from the woods, and cultivate it in the old and improved parts of the United States. An orchard conſiſting of 200 trees, planted upon a common farm would yield more than the ſame number of apple trees, at a diſtance from a market town. A full grown tree in the woods yields five pounds of ſugar a year. If a greater expoſure of a tree to the action of the ſun, has the ſame effects upon the maple, that it has upon other trees, a larger quantity of ſugar might reaſonably be expected from each tree planted in an orchard. Allowing it to be only ſeven pounds, then 200 trees will yield 1400 pounds of ſugar, and deducting 200 from the quantity, for the conſumption of the family,

* Dr. Knowles, a phyſician of worthy character in London, had occaſion to recommend a diet to a patient, of which ſugar compoſed a material part. His patient refuſed to ſubmit to his preſcription, and gave as a reaſon for it, that he had witneſſed ſo much of the oppreſſion and cruelty which were exerciſed upon the ſlaves, who made the ſugar, that he had made a vow never to taſte the roduct of their miſery as long as he lived

there will remain for ſale 1200 pounds which at 6-90 of a dollar per pound will yield an annual profit to the farmer of 80 dollars. But if it ſhould be found that the ſhade of the maple does not check the growth of grain any more than it does of graſs, double or treble that number of maple trees may be planted on every farm, and a profit proportioned to the above calculation be derived from them. Should this mode of tranſplanting the means of obtaining ſugar be ſucceſsful, it will not be a new one. The ſugar cane of the Weſt-Indies, was brought originally from the Eaſt-Indies, by the Portugueſe, and cultivated at Madeira, from whence it was tranſplanted directly or indirectly, to all the ſugar Iſlands of the Weſt-Indies.

It were to be wiſhed, that the ſettlers upon the ſugar maple lands, would ſpare the ſugar tree in clearing their lands, On a farm of 200 acres of land, according to our former calculation, there are uſually 6,000 maple trees. If only 2,000 of thoſe original and ancient inhabitants of the woods, were ſuffered to remain, and each tree were to afford only five pounds of ſugar, the annual profit of ſuch a farm in ſugar alone, at the price formerly mentioned, would amount to 666 dollars, 150 dollars of which would probably more than defray all the expenſes of making it, and allow a plentiful deduction for family uſe.

According to the uſual annual profit of a ſugar maple tree, each tree is worth to a farmer, two dollars and 2-3 of a dollar; excluſive therefore of the value

of his farm, the 2,000 ſugar maple trees alone confer a value upon it of 5,330 dollars and 33-90 of a dollar.

It is ſaid, that the ſugar trees when deprived of the ſhelter and ſupport they derive from other foreſt trees, are liable to be blown down, occaſioned by their growing in a rich, and of courſe a looſe ſoil. To obviate this, it will only be neceſſary to cut off ſome of their branches, ſo as to alter its center of gravity, and to allow the high winds to have an eaſy paſſage through them. Orchards of ſugar maple trees, which grow with an original expoſure of all their parts to the action of the ſun, will not be liable to this inconvenience.

In contemplating the preſent opening proſpects in human affairs, I am led to expect that a material ſhare of the happineſs, which Heaven ſeems to have prepared for a *part* of mankind, will be derived from the manufactory and general uſe of maple ſugar, for the benefits which I flatter myſelf are to reſult from it, will not be confined to our own country. They will, I hope, extend themſelves to the intereſts of humanity in the Weſt-Indies. With this view of the ſubject of this letter, I cannot help contemplating a ſugar maple tree with a ſpecies of affection and even veneration, for I have perſuaded myſelf, to behold in it the happy means of rendering the commerce and ſlavery of our African brethren, in the ſugar Iſlands as unneceſſary, as it has always been inhuman and unjuſt.

From, dear Sir, your ſincere friend,

July 10th 1791. BENJAMIN RUSH.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF EDWARD DRINKER, WHO DIED ON THE 17TH OF NOVEMBER, 1782, IN THE 103 YEAR OF HIS AGE.

EDWARD DRINKER was born on the 24th of December, 1680, in a ſmall cabbin, near the preſent corner of Walnut and Second-ſtreets, in the city of Philadelphia. His parents came from a place called Beverly, in the ſtate Maſſachuſetts. The banks of the Delaware, on which the city of Philadelphia now ſtands, were inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders. He often talked to his companions of picking whortle berries and catching rabbits, on ſpots now the moſt improved and populous in the city. He recollected the ſecond time William Penn came to Pennſylvania, and uſed to point to the place where the cabbin ſtood, in which he, and his friends, that accompanied him, were accommodated upon their arrival. At twelve years of age, he went to Boſton, where he ſerved his apprenticeſhip to a cabinet maker. In the year 1745, he returned to Philadelphia, with his family, where he lived until the time of his death. He was four times married, and had eighteen children, all of whom were by his firſt wife. At one time of his life, he ſat down, at his own table, with fourteen children. Not long before his death he heard of the

birth of a grand-child, to one of his grand-children, the fifth in ſucceſſion to himſelf.

He retained all his faculties till the laſt year of his life. Even his memory, ſo early and ſo generally diminiſhed by age was but little impaired. He not only remembered the incidents of his childhood and youth*, but the events of latter years; and ſo faithful was his memory to him, that his ſon has informed me he never heard him tell the ſame ſtory twice, but to different perſons, and in different companies. His eye-ſight

* It is remarkable that the incidents of childhood and youth are ſeldom remembered or called forth until old age. I have ſometimes been led, from this and other circumſtances, to ſuſpect that nothing is ever loſt that is lodged in the memory, however it may be buried for a time by a variety of cauſes. How often do we find the tranſactions of early life, which we had reaſon to ſuppoſe were loſt from the mind for ever, revived in our memories by certain accidental ſights or ſounds, particularly by certain notes or airs in muſics. I have known a young man ſpeak French fluently when drunk, that could not put two ſentences of that language together, when ſober. He had been taught it perfectly, when a boy, but had forgotten it from diſuſe. A French counteſs was nurſed by a Welſh woman, from whom ſhe learned to ſpeak her language, which ſhe ſoon forgot, after ſhe had acquired the French, which was her mother tongue. In the delirium of a fever, many years afterwards, ſhe was heard to mutter words which none of her family or attendants underſtood. An old Welſh woman came to ſee her, who ſoon perceived that the ſounds which were ſo unintelligible to the family, were the Welſh language. When ſhe recovered, ſhe could not recollect a ſingle word of the language, ſhe had ſpoken in her ſickneſs. I can conceive great advantages may be derived from this retentive power in our memories, in the advancement of the mind towards perfection in knowledge (ſo eſſential to its happineſs) in a future world.

failed him, many years before his death, but his hearing was uniformly perfect and unimpaired. His appetite was good till within a few days before his death. He generally ate a hearty breakfaſt of a pint of tea or coffee, as ſoon as he got out of his bed, with bread and butter in proportion. He ate likewiſe at eleven o'clock, and never failed to eat plentifully at dinner of the groſſeſt ſolid food. He drank tea, in the evening, but never ate any ſupper: he had loſt all his teeth thirty years before his death, which was occaſioned, his ſon ſays, by drawing exceſſive hot ſmoke of tobacco into his mouth: but the want of ſuitable maſtication of his food, did not prevent its ſpeedy digeſtion, nor impair his health. Whether the gums, hardened by age, ſupplied the place of his teeth in a certain degree, or whether the juices of the mouth and ſtomach became ſo much more acrid by time, as to perform the office of diſſolving the food more ſpeedily and more perfectly, I know not, but I have often obſerved, that old people are moſt diſpoſed to exceſſive eating, and that they ſuffer feweſt inconveniences from it. He was inquiſitive after news in the laſt years of his life. His education did not lead him to increaſe the ſtock of his ideas any other way. But it is a fact well worth attending to, that old age, inſtead of diminiſhing, always increaſes the deſire of knowledge. It muſt afford ſome conſolation to thoſe who expect to be old, to diſcover, that the infirmities to which the decays of nature expoſe the human body, are rendered more

tolerable by the enjoyments that are to be derived from the appetite for ſenſual and intellectual food.

He was remarkably ſober and temperate. Neither hard labour, nor company, nor the uſual afflictions of human life, nor the waſtes of nature, ever led him to an improper or exceſſive uſe of ſtrong drink. For the laſt twenty-five years of his life, he drank twice every day of toddy, made with two table ſpoonfuls of ſpirit, in half a pint of water. His ſon, a man of fifty-nine years of age, told me that he had never ſeen him intoxicated. The time and manner in which he uſed ſpirituous liquors, I believe, contributed to lighten the weight of his years, and probably to prolong his life. "Give wine to him that is "of a heavy heart, and ſtrong drink to him that is "ready to periſh with age, as well as with ſickneſs, "Let him drink and forget his ſorrow, and remember "his miſery no more."

He enjoyed an uncommon ſhare of health, inſomuch that in the courſe of his long life he never was confined more than three days to his bed. He often declared that he had no idea of that moſt diſtreſſing pain called the head ache. His ſleep was interrupted a little in the laſt years of his life with a defluxion on his breaſt, which produced what is commonly called the old man's cough.

The character of this aged citizen was not ſummed up in his negative quality of temperance: he was a

man of the moſt amiable temper: old age had not curdled his blood; he was uniformly chearful and kind to every body; his religious principles were as ſteady as his morals were pure. He attended public worſhip about thirty years in the Rev. Dr. Sproat's church, and died in a full aſſurance of a happy immortality. The life of this man is marked with ſeveral circumſtances, which perhaps have ſeldom occured in the life of an individual events. He ſaw and heard more of thoſe events which are meaſured by time, than have ever been ſeen or heard by any mane ſince the ageof the patriarchs; he ſaw the ſame ſpot of earth, which at one period of his life, was covered with wood and buſhes, and the receptacle of beaſts and birds of prey, afterwards become the ſeat of a city not only the firſt in wealth and arts in the new, but rivalling in both, many of the firſt cities in the old world. He ſaw regular ſtreets where he once purſued a hare: he ſaw churches riſing upon moraſſes, where he had often heard the croaking of frogs; he ſaw wharfs and warehouſes, where he had often ſeen Indian ſavages draw fiſh from the river for their daily ſubſiſtence; and he ſaw ſhips of every ſize and uſe in thoſe ſtreams, where he had often ſeen nothing but Indian canoes; he ſaw a ſtately edifice filled with legiſlators, aſtoniſhing the world with their wiſdom and virtue, on the ſame ſpot, probably, where he had ſeen an Indian council fire; he ſaw the firſt treaty ratified between the newly confederated powers of America and the

ancient monarchy of France, with all the formalities of parchment and ſeals, on the ſame ſpot, probably, where he once ſaw William Penn ratify his firſt and laſt treaty with the Indians, without the formality of pen, ink or paper; he ſaw all the intermediate ſtages through which a people paſs, from the moſt ſimple to the higheſt degrees of civilization. He ſaw the beginning and end of the empire of Great-Britain, in Pennſylvania. He had been the ſubject of ſeven ſucceſſive crowned heads, and afterwards became a willing citizen of a republic; for he embraced the liberties and independence of America in his withered arms, and triumphed in the laſt years of his life in the ſalvation of his country.

Remarkable circumstances in the constitution and life of Ann Woods, an old woman of 96 years of age.

In the ſummer of the year 1788, while I was engaged in collecting the facts upon the ſubject of old age, which I have ſince publiſhed,* a poor woman came to my houſe to beg for cold victuals. Perceiving by her countenance, and the ſtoop in her walk, that ſhe was very old, I requeſted her to ſit down by me, while I recorded the following information, which I received from her, and which was confirmed to me a few days afterwards, by one of her daughters with whom ſhe lived. Her name was Ann Woods. Her age at that time was 96. She was born in Herefordſhire, in England, and came to this city when ſhe was but ten years old, where ſhe had lived ever ſince. She had been twice married. By her firſt huſband Wm. Dickſon, ſhe had nine children, four of whom were then living. By her ſecond huſband Joſeph Woods, whom ſhe married after ſhe was ſixty years old, ſhe had one child, born within ten months after her marriage. There were intervals of two and nearly three years between each of her children. Three died ſoon after weaning them at the uſual age in which children are taken from

* Medical Enquiries and Obſervations. vol. 2.

the breaſt. This led her to ſuckle her other children during the whole time of her pregnancy, and in ſeveral inſtances, ſhe ſuckled two of them, born in ſucceſſion to each other, at the ſame time. One of her children by her firſt huſband, ſucked until it was five years old. Her menſes appeared between her nineteenth and twentieth years and continued without any intermiſſion, except during her pregnancy and eleven months after the birth of each of her children, until ſhe was eighty years of age. At the time I ſaw her, ſhe heard tolerably well, but her ſight was loſt in one eye, and was weak in the other. She loſt all her teeth when ſhe was between fifty and ſixty years of age. Her hair became grey when ſhe was between forty and fifty. Her ſleep was not ſound, owing to her having been afflicted with the Rheumatiſm, a diſeaſe which was brought on her by the alternate heat and cold to which ſhe had expoſed herſelf, by following the buſineſs of a waſher woman for many years. She had had ſeveral attacks of the intermitting fever, and of the Pleuriſy in the courſe of her life, and was much afflicted with the Head-ache after her menſes ceaſed. She had been frequently bled while afflicted with the above diſeaſes. Her diet was ſimple, conſiſting chiefly of weak tea, milk, cheeſe, butter and vegetables. Meat of all kinds, except veal, diſagreed with her ſtomach. She found great benefit from frequently changing her aliment. Her drinks were water, cyder and water, molaſſes and vinegar in

water. She had never uſed ſpirits. Her memory was but little impaired. She was cheerful and thankful that her condition in life was happier than hundreds of other old people.

From the hiſtory of this old woman's conſtitution and manner of life, the following obſervations will naturally occur to the reader.

1. That there is a great latitude in the time in which the menſes ceaſe. It is more common for them in their excentricities, to diſappear at the uſual time, and to return in extreme old age. In the year 1795, I ſaw a caſe of this kind in a woman of ſeventy years of age in the Pennſylvania hoſpital.

2. There is a great latitude in the time in which women bear children. Many children are born between fifty and ſixty, but very few I believe beyond ſixty.

3. It appears from the hiſtory that has been given, that acute and chronic diſeaſes if oppoſed by temperance and ſuitable remedies, do not neceſsarily ſhorten the duration of human life.

4. That child-bearing, and ſuckling children, do not materially affect health, or longevity, where their effects are oppoſed by temperance and moderate labor.

5. That the evils of life are ſeldom ſo numerous, as not to leave room for thankfulneſs for an exemption

from a great deal of misery. This poor woman did not complain of her weakness, pains or poverty. On the contrary, she appeared thankful under all the afflictions of her life. While the indolent are commanded by the wise man to go to the ant to learn industry, those persons who abound with all the external means of happiness, and at the same time complain of the moral government of our world, may be invited to sit down by the side of Ann Woods, and learn from the example of her gratitude to heaven, for a single drop of divine goodness, to render unceasing thanks for the ocean of blessings they derive from the same source.

Biographical anecdotes of Benjamin Lay.

THERE was a time when the name of this celebrated Chriſtian Philoſopher, was familiar to every man, woman and to nearly every child, in Pennſylvania.—His ſize, which was not much above four feet, his dreſs, which was always the ſame, conſiſting of light-coloured plain clothes, a white hat, and half-boots;—his milk white beard, which hung upon his breaſt; and, above all, his peculiar principles and conduct, rendered him to many, an object of admiration, and to all, the ſubject of converſation.—

He was born in England, and ſpent the early part of his life at ſea. His firſt ſettlement was in Barbadoes, as a merchant, where he was ſoon convinced of the iniquity of the ſlave trade. He bore an open teſtimony againſt it, in all companies, by which means he rendered himſelf ſo unpopular, that he left the iſland in diſguſt, and ſettled in the then province of Pennſylvania. He fixed his home at Abington, ten miles from Philadelphia, from whence he made frequent excurſions to the city, and to different parts of the country.—

At the time of his arrival in Pennſylvania, he found many of his brethren, the people called Quakers, had fallen ſo far from their original principles, as to

upon the folly of preferring that foreign herb, with its expenſive appurtenances, to the ſimple and wholeſome diet of our country.

He poſſeſſed a good deal of wit, and was quick at rapartee. A citizen of Philadelphia, who knew his peculiarities, once met him in a croud, at a funeral, in Germantown. Being deſirous of entering into a converſation with him that ſhould divert the company, the citizen accoſted him, with the moſt reſpectful ceremony, and declared himſelf to be "his moſt humble ſervant." "Art thou my ſervant." ſaid Mr. Lay,—"Yes—I am" ſaid the citizen. "Then, ſaid Mr. Lay, (holding up his foot towards him,) clean this ſhoe".—This unexpected reply turned the laugh upon the citizen. Being deſirous of recovering himſelf in the opinion of the company, he aſked him to inſtruct him in the way to heaven. "Doſt thou in-"deed wiſh to be taught," ſaid Mr. Lay. "I do," ſaid the citizen. "Then," ſaid Mr. Lay, "Do juſtice "—love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

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Mr. Lay was extremely attentive to young people. He took great pleaſure in viſiting ſchools, where he often preached to the youth. He frequently carried a baſket of religious books with him, and diſtributed them as prizes, among the ſcholars.

He was fond of reading. In the print of him, which is to be ſeen in many houſes in Philadelphia, he is repreſented with "Tryon on happineſs" in his hand, a book which he valued very much, and which he frequently carried with him, in his excurſions from home.

He was kind and charitable to the poor, but had no compaſſion for beggars. He uſed to ſay, "there was "no man or woman, who was able to go abroad "to beg, that was not able to earn *four pence* a "day, and this ſum, he ſaid, was enough to keep "any perſon above want, or dependence, in this "country."

He was a ſevere enemy to idleneſs, inſomuch that when he could not employ himſelf out of doors, or when he was tired of reading, he uſed to ſpend his time in ſpinning. His common ſitting room was hung with ſkains of thread, ſpun entirely by himſelf. All his clothes were of his own manufactory.

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He generally wore pluſh clothes, and gave as a reaſon for it, that after he had worn them for two or three years, they made comfortable and decent garments for the poor.

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He publiſhed ſeveral valuable tracts in favor of the emancipation of the blacks, and of the civilizing and chriſtianizing the Indians. He alſo publiſhed a pamphlet againſt the uſe of ardent ſpirits. All theſe publications were circulated with great induſtry, and at his own expenſe, throughout every part of the United States.

He wrote letters to the queen of Great-Britain, and to the queen of Portugal to uſe their influence with their reſpective courts to aboliſh the African trade. He accompanied his letter to the queen of Great-Bri-

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tain with a preſent of his works. The queen received them with great politeneſs, and ſaid after reading them "that the author appeared to be a very good man."

He alſo wrote a letter to the king of Pruſſia, in which he endeavoured to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of war.

During the time the Britiſh army was in poſſeſſion of the city of Philadelphia, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to render the ſituation of the perſons who ſuffered from captivity as eaſy as poſſible. He knew no fear in the preſence of his fellow men, however dignified they were by titles or ſtation, and ſuch were the propriety and gentleneſs of his manners in his intercourſe with the gentlemen who commanded the Britiſh and German troops, that when he could not obtain the objects of his requeſts, he never failed to ſecure their civilities, and frequently their eſteem.

So great was his ſympathy with every thing that was capable of feeling pain, that he reſolved towards the cloſe of his life, to eat no animal food. Upon coming into his brother's houſe one day, when his family was dining upon poultry, he was aſked by his brother's wife, to ſit down and dine with them. "What! (ſaid he) would you have me eat my neighbours?

This miſapplication of a moral feeling, was ſuppoſed to have brought on ſuch a debility in his ſtomach and bowels, as produced a diſeaſe in thoſe parts of which he finally died.

Few men, ſince the days of the apoſtles, ever lived a more diſintereſted life. And yet, upon his death bed, he ſaid, he wiſhed to live a little longer, that "he might bring down SELF."

The laſt time he ever walked acroſs his room, was to take from his deſk ſix dollars, which he gave to a poor widow whom he had long aſſiſted to maintain.

He bequeathed after the death of his widow, a houſe and lot in which conſiſted his whole eſtate, to the ſupport of a ſchool for the education of negro children, which he had founded and taught for ſeveral years before his death.

He died in May 1784, in the 71ſt. year of his age.

His funeral was attended by perſons of all religious denominations, and by many hundred black people.

Colonel J—n, who had ſerved in the American army, during the late war, in returning from the funeral, pronounced an eulogium upon him. It conſiſted only of the following words: "I would rather," ſaid he, "be Anthony Benezet in that coffin, than George Waſhington with all his fame."

July 15, 1788.

PARADISE OF NEGRO-SLAVES.—A DREAM.

SOON after reading Mr. Clarkſon's ingenious and pathetic eſſay on the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies, the ſubject made ſo deep an impreſſion upon my mind, that it followed me in my ſleep, and produced a dream of ſo extraordinary a nature, that I have yielded to the importunities of ſome of my friends, by communicating it to the public. I thought I was conducted to a country, which in point of cultivation and ſcenery, far ſurpaſſed any thing I had ever heard, or read of in my life. This country, I found, was inhabited only by negroes. They appeared cheerful and happy. Upon my approaching a beautiful grove, where a number of them were aſſembled for religious purpoſes, I perceived at once a pauſe in their exerciſes, and an appearance of general perturbation. They fixed their eyes upon me—while one of them, a venerable looking man, came forward, and in the name of the whole aſſembly, addreſſed me in the following language.

" Excuſe the panic which you have ſpread through " this peaceful and happy company: we perceive that " you are a *white man*.—That colour which is the " emblem of innocence in every other creature of " God, is to us a ſign of guilt in man. The perſons " whom you ſee here, were once dragged by the men " of your colour from their native country, and con-

" ſigned by them to labour—puniſhment—and death.
" —We are here collected together, and enjoy an
" ample compenſation in our preſent employments
" for all the miſeries we endured on earth. We know
" that we are ſecured by the Being whom we worſhip,
" from injury and oppreſſion. Our appearance of
" terror, therefore, was entirely the ſudden effect of
" habits which have not yet been eradicated from our
" minds."

" Your apprehenſions of danger from the ſight of
" a white man," ſaid I, " are natural. But in me—
" you behold a friend. I have been your advocate—
" and."——Here, he interrupted me, and ſaid, " Is
" not your name——?" I anſwered in the affirmative. Upon this he ran up and embraced me in his arms, and afterwards conducted me into the midſt of the aſſembly, where, after being introduced to the principal characters, I was ſeated upon a bank of moſs; and the following account was delivered to me by the venerable perſon who firſt accoſted me.

" The place we now occupy, is called the *paradiſe*
" *of negro ſlaves*. It is deſtined to be our place of
" reſidence 'till the general judgement; after which
" time, we expect to be admitted into higher and
" more perfect degrees of happineſs. Here we derive
" great pleaſure from contemplating the infinite good-
" neſs of God, in allotting to us our full proportion of
" miſery on earth; by which means we have eſcaped
" the puniſhments, to which the free and happy part of

" mankind too often expoſe themſelves after death. " Here we have learned to thank God, for all the afflic- " tions our taſk-maſters heaped on us; inaſmuch, as " they were the means of our preſent happineſs. " Pain and diſtreſs are the unavoidable portions of all " mankind. They are the only poſſible avenues that " can conduct them to peace and felicity. Happy " are they, who partake of their proportion of both up- " on the earth." Here he ended.—

After a ſilence of a few minutes, a young man, who bore on his head the mark of a wound, came up to me and aſked " If I knew any thing of Mr.——, " of the Iſland of——" I told him " I did not." —" Mr.———," ſaid he, " was my maſter. One " day, I miſtook his orders, and ſaddled his mare in- " ſtead of his horſe, which provoked him ſo much, " that he took up an axe which laid in his yard, and " with a ſtroke on my head, diſmiſſed me from life.

" I long to hear, whether he has repented of this " unkind action. Do, ſir, write to him, and tell " him, his ſin is not too great to be forgiven, tell him, " his once miſerable ſlave, Scipio, is not angry at him " —he longs to bear his prayers to the offended ma- " jeſty of heaven—and—when he dies—Scipio will " apply to be one of the convoy, that ſhall conduct his " ſpirit to the regions of bliſs appointed for thoſe who " repent of their iniquities."

Before I could reply to this ſpeech, an old man came and ſat down by my ſide. His wool was white

as ſnow. With a low, but gentle voice, he thus addreſſed me.

" Sir, I was the ſlave of Mr. ——, in the iſland " of—I ſerved him faithfully upwards of ſixty years. " No riſing ſun ever caught me in my cabin—no " ſetting ſun ever ſaw me out of the ſugar field, " except on ſundays and holydays. My whole ſubſiſt- " ence never coſt my maſter more than forty ſhil- " lings a year. Herrings and roots were my only food. " One day, in the eightieth year of my age, the over- " ſeer ſaw me ſtop to reſt myſelf againſt the ſide of " a tree, where I was at work. He came up to " me, and beat me, 'till he could endure the fatigue " and heat occaſioned by the blows he gave me, " no longer. Nor was this all—he complained of " me to my maſter, who inſtantly ſet me up at public " vendue, and ſold me for two guineas to a tavern- " keeper, in a diſtant pariſh. The diſtreſs I felt, in " leaving my children, and grand-children (28 of whom " I left on my old maſter's plantation) ſoon put an end " to my exiſtence, and landed me upon theſe happy " ſhores. I have now no wiſh to gratify but one—and " that is to be permitted to viſit my old maſter's family. " I long to tell my maſter, that his wealth cannot make " him happy.—That the ſufferings of a ſingle hour in " the world of miſery, for which he is preparing him- " ſelf, will overbalance all the pleaſures he ever enjoy- " ed in his life—and that for every act of unneceſſary " ſeverity he inflicts upon his ſlaves, he ſhall ſuffer " tenfold in the world to come."

He had hardly finiſhed his tale, when a decent looking woman came forward, and addreſſed me in the following language.—Sir,

" I was once the ſlave of Mr. ——, in the ſtate " of ——. From the healthineſs of my conſtitution, I " was called upon to ſuckle my Maſter's eldeſt ſon. To " enable me to perform this office more effectually, " my own child was taken from my breaſt, and ſoon " afterwards died. My affections in the firſt emo- " tions of my grief, faſtened themſelves upon my in- " fant maſter. He thrived under my care and grew up " a handſome young man. Upon the death of his " father, I became his property.—Soon after this " event, he loſt 100l. at cards. To raiſe this money " I was ſold to a planter in a neighbouring ſtate. " I can never forget the anguiſh, with which my " aged father and mother followed me to the end of " the lane, when I left my maſter's houſe, and hung " upon me, when they bid me farewell."

" My new maſter obliged me to work in the field; " the conſequence of which was, I caught a fever " which in a few weeks ended my life. Say, my " friend, is my firſt young maſter ſtill alive? —If " he is—go to him, and tell him, his unkind " behaviour to me is upon record againſt him. The " gentle ſpirits in heaven, whoſe happineſs conſiſts " in expreſſions of gratitude and love, will have no " fellowſhip with him.—His ſoul muſt be melted with

" pity, or he can never eſcape the puniſhment which " awaits the hard-hearted, equally with the impenitent, " in the regions of miſery."

As ſoon as ſhe had finiſhed her ſtory, a middle aged woman approached me, and after a low and reſpectful curtſey, thus addreſſed me.

" Sir I was born and educated in a chriſtian family " in one of the ſouthern ſtates of America. In the " thirty-third year of my age, I applied to my maſter " to purchaſe my freedom. Inſtead of granting my " requeſt, he conveyed me by force on board of a veſſel " and ſold me to a planter in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. " Here it pleaſed God."———Upon pronouncing theſe words, ſhe pauſed, and a general ſilence enſued. —All at once, the eyes of the whole aſſembly were turned from me, and directed towards a little white man who advanced towards them, on the oppoſite ſide of the grove, in which we were ſeated. His face was grave, placid, and full of benignity. In one hand he carried a ſubſcription paper and a petition---in the other, he carried a ſmall pamphlet, on the unlawfulneſs of the African ſlave-trade, and a letter directed to the King of Pruſſia, upon the unlawfulneſs of war. While I was employed in contemplating this venerable figure—ſuddenly I beheld the whole aſſembly running to meet him—the air reſounded with the clapping of hands—and I awoke from my dream, by the noiſe of a general acclamation of—

ANTHONY BENEZET!

AN EULOGIUM UPON DR. WILLIAM CULLEN, PROFESSOR OF THE PRACTICE OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH; DELIVERED BEFORE THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF PHILADELPHIA, ON THE 9TH OF JULY, AGREEABLY TO THEIR VOTE OF THE 4TH OF MAY, 1790, AND AFTERWARDS PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST.

Mr. Preſident and Gentlemen,

BY your unanimous vote, to honour with an Eulogium, the character of the late DR. WILLIAM CULLEN, Profeſſor of medecine in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, you have done equal homage to Science and Humanity. This illuſtrious Phyſician was the Preceptor of many of us :—He was moreover a diſtinguiſhed citizen of the republic of Medecine, and a benefactor to Mankind; and although, like the ſun, he ſhone in a diſtant hemiſphere, yet many of the rays of his knowledge have fallen upon this quarter of the globe. I riſe, therefore, to mingle your grateful praiſes of him, with the numerous offerings of public and private reſpect which have been paid to his memory in his native country. Happy will be the effects of ſuch acts of diſtant ſympathy, if they ſhould ſerve to unite the influence of ſcience with that of Commerce, to leſſen the prejudices of nations againſt each other, and thereby to prepare the way for the operation of that divine ſyſtem of morals, whoſe

prerogative alone it is, to teach mankind that they are brethren, and to make the name of a fellow-creature, in every region of the world, a ſignal for brotherly affection.

In executing the taſk you have impoſed upon me, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch parts of Dr. Cullen's character as came within the compaſs of my own knowledge, during two years reſidence in Edinburgh. —To his fellow citizens in Great Britain, who were more intimately acquainted with him, we muſt reſign the hiſtory of his domeſtic character, as well as the detail of all thoſe ſteps which, in early life, led him to his unparalleled height of uſefulneſs and fame.

Dr. CULLEN poſſeſſed a great and original genius. By genius, in the preſent inſtance, I mean a power in the human mind of diſcovering the relation of diſtant truths, by the ſhorteſt train of intermediate propoſitions. This precious gift of Heaven, is compoſed of a vigorous imagination, quick ſenſibility, a talent for extenſive and accurate obſervation, a faithful memory, and a ſound judgment. Theſe faculties were all united in an eminent degree in the mind of Dr. Cullen. His imagination ſurveyed all nature at a glance, and, like a camera obſcura, ſeemed to produce in his mind a picture of the whole viſible creation. His ſenſibility was ſo exquiſite, that the ſmalleſt portions of truth acted upon it. By means

of his talent for obſervation he collected knowledge from every thing he heard, ſaw, or read, and from every perſon with whom he converſed. His memory was the faithful repoſitory of all his ideas, and appeared to be alike accurate upon all ſubjects. Over each of theſe faculties of his mind a ſound judgment preſided, by means of which he diſcovered the relation of ideas to each other, and thereby produced thoſe new combinations which conſtitute principles in ſcience. This proceſs of the mind has been called invention, and is totally different from a mere capacity of acquiring learning, or collecting knowledge from the diſcoveries of others. It elevates man to a diſtant reſemblance of his Maker; for the diſcovery of truth, is the perception of things as they appear to the Divine Mind.

In contemplating the human faculties, thus exquiſitely formed, and exactly balanced, we feel the ſame kind of pleaſure which ariſes from a view of a magnificent palace, or an extenſive and variegated proſpect; but with this difference, that the pleaſure, in the firſt inſtance, is as much ſuperior to that which ariſes from contemplating the latter objects, as the mind of man is ſuperior, in its importance, to the moſt finiſhed productions of nature or of art.

Dr. Cullen poſſeſſed not only the genius that has been deſcribed, but an uncommon ſhare of learning, reading, and knowledge.

His learning was of a peculiar and uſeful kind—He appeared to have overſtepped the ſlow and tedious forms of the ſchools, and, by the force of his underſtanding, to have ſeized upon the great ends of learning, without the aſſiſtance of many of thoſe means which were contrived for the uſe of leſs active minds. He read the ancient Greek and Roman writers only for the ſake of the knowledge which they contained, without waſting any of the efforts of his genius in attempting to imitate their ſtyle. He was intimately acquainted with modern languages, and through their means, with the improvements of medicine in every country in Europe. Such was the facility with which he acquired a language, and ſo great was his enterpriſe in his reſearches in medicine, that I once heard him ſpeak of learning the Arabic for the ſake of reading Avicenna in the original, as if it were a matter of as little difficulty to him, as it was to compoſe a lecture, or to viſit a patient.

Dr. Cullen's reading was extenſive, but it was not confined wholly to medicine. He read books upon all ſubjects; and he had a peculiar art of extracting ſomething from all of them which he made ſubſervient to his profeſſion. He was well acquainted with ancient and modern hiſtory, and delighted in the poets, among whom Shakeſpeare was his favourite. The hiſtory of our globe, as unfolded by books of geography and travels, was ſo familiar to him that ſtrangers could not converſe with him, without

ſuppoſing that he had not only travelled, but that he had lived every where. His memory had no rubbiſh in it. Like a ſecretory organ, in the animal body, it it rejected every thing in reading that could not be applied to ſome uſeful purpoſe. In this he has given the world a moſt valuable leſſon, for the difference between error and uſeleſs truth is very ſmall; and a man is no wiſer for knowledge which he cannot apply, than he is rich from poſſeſſing wealth, which he cannot ſpend.

Dr. Cullen's knowledge was minute in every branch of medicine. He was an accurate anatomiſt, and an ingenious phyſiologiſt. He enlarged the boundaries, and eſtabliſhed the utility of Chemiſtry, and thereby prepared the way for the diſcoveries and fame of his illuſtrious pupil Dr. Black. He ſtripped Materia Medica, of moſt of the errors that had been accumulating in it for two thouſand years, and reduced it to a ſimple and practical ſcience. He was intimately acquainted with all the branches of natural hiſtory and philoſophy. He had ſtudied every ancient and modern ſyſtem of phyſic. He found the ſyſtem of Dr. Boerhave univerſally adopted when he accepted a chair in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. This ſyſtem was founded chiefly on the ſuppoſed preſence of certain acrid particles in the fluids, and in the departure of theſe, in point of conſiſtency, from a natural ſtate. Dr. Cullen's firſt object was to expoſe the errors of this pathology; and to teach his pupils to ſeek for

the cauſes of diſeaſes in the ſolids. Nature is always coy. Ever ſince ſhe was driven from the heart, by the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, ſhe has concealed herſelf in the brain and nerves. Here ſhe has been purſued by Dr. Cullen; and if he has not dragged her to public view, he has left us a clue which muſt in time conduct us to her laſt receſs in the human body. Many, however, of the operations of nature in the nervous ſyſtem have been explained by him; and no candid man will ever explain the whole of them, without acknowledging that the foundation of his ſucceſsful inquiries was laid by the diſcoveries of Dr. Cullen.

He was intimately acquainted with the hiſtories and diſtinctions of the diſeaſes of all countries, ages, ſtations, occupations, and ſtates of ſociety. While his great object was to explode uſeleſs remedies, he took pains to increaſe the influence of diet, dreſs, air, exerciſe, and the actions of the mind, in medicine. In a word he was a great practical phyſician; and he has left behind him as many monuments of his ſucceſs in curing diſeaſes, as he has of accuracy and ingenuity in deſcribing their ſymptoms and explaining their cauſes.

But his knowledge was not confined wholly to thoſe ſciences which are intimately connected with medicine. His genius was univerſal, as to natural and artificial ſubjects. He was minutely acquainted

with the principles and practices of all the liberal, mechanical, and chemical arts; and tradeſmen were often directed by him to new objects of obſervation and improvement in their reſpective occupations. He delighted in the ſtudy of agriculture, and contributed much to excite that taſte for agricultural ſcience, which has of late years ſo much diſtinguiſhed the men of genius and leiſure in North-Britain. I have been informed, that he yielded at laſt to that paſſion for rural improvements, which is common to all men, and amuſed himſelf in the evening of his life by cultivating a farm in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Happy would it be for the intereſts of agriculture, if phyſicians in all countries, would imitate Dr. Cullen by an attachment to this noble ſcience; for their previous ſtudies are of ſuch a nature as frequently to enable them to arrive at improvements in it without experiments, and to apply the experiments of others, in the moſt extenſive and profitable manner.

Dr. Cullen's publications were few in number compared with his diſcoveries. They conſiſt of his Elements of phyſiology, his Noſologia Methodica, his Firſt Lines of the Practice of Phyſic, an Eſſay upon the cold produced by Evaporation, publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the Phyſical and Literary Eſſays of Edinburgh, a Letter to Lord Cathcart upon the method of recovering perſons ſuppoſed to be dead from drowning, and a ſyſtem of the Materia Medica. Theſe are all the works which bear his name; but the fruits of

his inquiries are to be found in moſt of the medical publications that have appeared in Great-Britain within the laſt thirty years. Many of the theſes, publiſhed in Edinburgh during his life, were the vehicles of his opinions or practice in medicine: and few of them contained an important or uſeful diſcovery, which was not derived from hints thrown out in his lectures.

As a TEACHER of medicine, Dr. Cullen poſſeſſed many peculiar talents. He mingled the moſt agreeable eloquence with the moſt profound diſquiſitions. He appeared to *lighten* upon every ſubject upon which he ſpoke. His language was ſimple, and his arrangement methodical, by which means he was always intelligible. From the moment he aſcended his chair, he commanded the moſt reſpectful attention from his pupils, inſomuch that I never ſaw one of them diſcover a ſign of impatience during the time of any of his lectures.

IN the inveſtigation of truth, he ſometimes ventured into the regions of conjecture. His imagination was an hot-bed of hypotheſes, which led him to conſtant obſervation and experiment. Theſe often proved the ſeeds of ſubſequent diſcoveries. It was thus Sir Iſaac Newton founded an empire in ſcience; for moſt of his diſcoveries were the reſult of preconceived hypotheſes. In delivering new opinions, Dr. Cullen preſerved the ſtricteſt integrity. I have known him more than once, refute the opnions which he had taught the preceding year, even before the fallacy of them had

been ſuſpected by any of his pupils. Such inſtances of candor often paſs with the vulgar for inſtability; but they are the trueſt characteriſtics of a great mind. To be unchangeable, ſuppoſes perpetual error, or a perception of truth without the uſe of reaſon; but this ſublime act of intuition belongs only to the Deity.

There was no tincture of credulity in the mind of Dr. Cullen. He taught his pupils the neceſſity of acquiring "the ſlow conſenting academic doubt." I mention theſe words of the poet with peculiar pleaſure, as I find them in my notes of one of his lectnres, in which he has delivered rules for judging of the truth of things related as facts; for he frequently remarked that there were ten falſe facts (if the expreſſion can be allowed) to one falſe opinion in medicine. His Materia Medica abounds with proofs of the truth of this part of his character. With how much caution does he admit the efficacy of medicines, as related in books, or as ſuggeſted by his own experience. Who could have expected to have found ſo much modeſty in the writings of a phyſician in the 77th year of his age? But let it be remembered, that this phyſician was Dr. Cullen; and that he always preferred utility to novelty, and loved truth, more than fame.

He took great pains to deliver his pupils from the undue influence which antiquity and great names are apt to have upon the human mind. He de-

ſtroyed the ſuperſtitious veneration which had been paid for many ages to the names of Hippocrates, Galen, and other ancient authors, and inſpired his pupils with a juſt eſtimate of the writings of modern phyſicians. His conſtant aim was to produce in their minds a change from a paſſive to an active ſtate; and to force upon them ſuch habits of thinking and obſervation, as ſhould enable them to inſtruct themſelves.

As he admitted no truth without examination, ſo he ſubmitted to no cuſtom in propagating it that was not reaſonable. He had a principal ſhare in the merit of delivering medicine from the fetters of the Latin, and introducing the Engliſh language, as the vehicle of public inſtruction in the univerſity of Edinburgh. Much of the ſucceſs of the revolution he effected in medicine, I believe, may be aſcribed to this circumſtance. Perhaps the many improvements which have lately been made in medicine, in the Britiſh dominions, may likewiſe be aſcribed to the preſent faſhionable cuſtom of communicating medical knowledge in the Engliſh language. By this means, our ſcience has excited the notice and inquiries of ingenious and obſerving men in all profeſſions, and thereby a kind of galaxy has been created in the hemiſphere of medicine. By aſſuming an Engliſh dreſs, it has moreover been prepared more eaſily to aſſociate with other ſciences; from each of which it has received aſſiſtance and ſupport.

In his intercourſe with his pupils Dr. Cullen was truly kind and affectionate. Never have I known a man who poſſeſſed in a higher degree thoſe qualities which ſeize upon every affection of the heart. He knew the rare and happy arts, as circumſtances required, of being affable without being ſociable; ſociable without being familiar; and familiar, without loſing a particle of reſpect. Such was the intereſt he took in the health, ſtudies, and future eſtabliſhment of all his pupils, that each of them believed that he poſſeſſed a pre-eminence in his friendſhip; while the equal diffuſion of his kind offices proved that he was the common friend and father of them all. Sometimes he would lay aſide the diſtance, without leſſening the dignity of the profeſſor, and mix with his pupils at his table upon terms of the moſt endearing equality. Upon theſe occaſions his ſocial affections ſeemed to have an influence upon his mind. Science, ſentiment, and convivial humor, appeared for hours together to ſtrive which ſhould predominate in his converſation. I appeal to you, gentlemen, who have ſhared in the pleaſure which I have deſcribed, for the juſtice of the picture which I have drawn of him at his hoſpitable table. You will recollect, with me, how agreeably he accommodated himſelf to our different capacities and tempers; how kindly he diſſipated our youthful bluſhes, by inviting us to aſk him queſtions; and how much he taught us, by his inquiries, of the nature of the ſoil, climate, products, and diſeaſes of even our own country.

From the hiſtory that has been given of Dr. Cullen, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at the reputation which he gave to the univerſity of Edinburgh, for upwards of thirty years. The city of Edinburgh during his life became the very atmoſphere of medicine. But let me not here be unjuſt to the merits of his illuſtrious colleagues. The names of Whytt, Rutherford, the Monroes, Black, the Gregories, Hope, and Home, will always be dear to the lovers of medical ſcience. May every healing plant bloom upon the graves of thoſe of them who are departed! and may thoſe who have ſurvived him, together with their new aſſociate, the learned and excellent Dr. Duncan, long continue to maintain the honor of that juſtly celebrated ſchool of medicine!

It remains now that I add a ſhort account of Dr. Cullen's conduct as a phyſician and a man.

In his attendance upon his patients, he made their health his firſt object, and thereby confirmed a line between the mechanical and liberal profeſſions; for while wealth is purſued by the former, as the end of labour, it ſhould be left by the latter, to follow the more noble exertions of the mind. So gentle and ſympathizing was Dr. Cullen's manner in a ſick room, that pain and diſtreſs ſeemed to be ſuſpended in his preſence. Hope followed his footſteps, and death appeared frequently to drop his commiſſion in a combat with his ſkill. He was compaſſionate and charitable to the poor; and from his pupils, who conſulted

him in ſickneſs, he conſtantly refuſed to receive any pecuniary ſatisfaction for his ſervices.

In his intercourſe with the world he exhibited the manners of a well-bred gentleman. He exerciſed upon all occaſions the agreeable art, in which true politeneſs is ſaid to conſiſt, of ſpeaking with civility, and liſtening with attention to every body. His converſation was at all times animated, agreeable, and inſtructing. Few perſons went into his company without learning ſomething; and even a common thought, by paſſing through his mind, received an impreſſion, which made it ever afterwards worthy of being preſerved.

He was a ſtrict œconomiſt of time. He ſeldom went out of his houſe in his carriage, or a ſedan chair, without a book in his hand; and he once told me, that he frequently employed one of his ſons to read to him after he went to bed, that he might not loſe that portion of time which paſſes between lying down, and falling aſleep.

He was remarkably punctual to all his profeſſional engagements. He appeared to conſider time as a ſpecies of property, which no man had a right to take from another without his conſent.

It was by means of his œconomy and punctuality in the uſe of time, that he accompliſhed ſo much in his profeſſion. I have read of ſome men who have ſpent more time in their cloſets, and of others who have

done more buſineſs; but I have never read, nor heard of a man, who mingled more ſtudy and buſineſs together. He lived by rule, without ſubjecting himſelf to the ſlavery of forms. He was always employed, but never in a hurry; and amidſt the numerous and complicated avocations of ſtudy and buſineſs, he appeared to enjoy the pleaſure of ſociety, as if company-keeping and converſation were the only buſineſs of his life.

I ſhall mention but one more trait in the character of Dr. Cullen, and that is, that he was diſtinguiſhed by no one ſingularity of behaviourfrom other men. It is true he ſtood alone; but this ſingularity was occaſioned, not by his quitting the ſociety of his fellow-men by walking on their left, or right ſide, but by his walking before them. Eccentricities in behaviour are the offſpring of a lively fancy only, but order is inſeparably connected with real genius. The actions of the former may be compared to the crooked flaſh of diſtant lightning, while the latter reſembles in its movements the ſteady revolutions of the heavenly bodies.

In reviewing the character which has been given of Dr. Cullen, I am forced to make a ſhort digreſſion, while I do homage to the profeſſion of phyſic by a ſingle remark. So great are the bleſſings which mankind derive from it, that if every other argument failed to prove the adminiſtration of a providence in human affairs, the profeſſion of medicine alone would be ſufficient for that purpoſe. Who can think of the talents, virtues, and ſervices of Dr. Cullen, without be-

lieving that the Creator of the world delights in the happineſs of his creatures, and that his tender mercies are over all his works!

For the information of ſuch of the members of our college as have not ſeen Dr. Cullen, it may not be improper to add the follo wing deſcription of his perſon. He was tall, ſlender, and had a ſtoop in his ſhoulders; his face was long; his under lip protruded a little beyond the upper; his noſe was large, and inclined to a poi nt downwards; his eye, which was of a blue color, was penetrating, but ſoft; and over his whole face was diffuſed an air of mildneſs and thought, which was ſtrongly characteriſtic of the conſtant temper and operations of hi s mind.

It pleaſed God to prolong his life to a good old age. He lived near 78 years. He lived to demonſtrate how much the duration of all the faculti es of the mind depends upon their conſtant exerciſe. He lived to teach his brethren by his example, that the obligations to acquire and communicate knowledge, ſhould ceaſe only with health and life; and laſtly, he lived to reap the fruits of his labors in the moſt extenſive fame; for not only his pupils, and his works, had conveyed his reputation; but canvaſs, paper, and clay, had borne even the image of his perſon to every quarter of the globe.

The public papers, as well as private letters, inform us, that he ſurvived his uſefulneſs but a few months. He reſigned his profeſſorſhip in the autumn of 1789,

on account of bodily weakneſs, and died in the month of January of the preſent year; a year fatal to the pride of man; for this year Franklin and Howard, as well as Cullen, have mingled with the duſt. During the interval between his reſignation and his death he received the moſt affectionate marks of public and private reſpect. The city of Edinburgh voted him their thanks, and preſented him with a piece of plate. This inſtance of public gratitude deſerves our particular attention, as it is more common for cities to treat their eminent literary characters with neglect during their lives, and centuries afterwards to contend for the honor of having given them birth. The different medical ſocieties of Edinburgh followed him to his chamber with addreſſes full of gratitude and affection. In mentioning theſe facts, I am led to contemplate the venerable ſubject of our praiſes in a ſituation truly ſolemn and intereſting. How pregnant with inſtruction is the death-bed of a phyſician, who has ſpent a long life in extenſive and ſucceſsful practice! If the ſorrows we have relieved are the ſureſt ſupport in our own, how great muſt have been the conſolation which Dr. Cullen derived, in his laſt hours, from a review of his active and uſeful life! How many fathers and mothers, huſbands and wives, brothers and ſiſters, whoſe tears he had wiped away by averting the ſtroke of death from the objects of their affections, muſt have preſented themſelves to his imagination, and ſoothed his ſoul with grateful prayers for his eternal welfare! But the retroſpect of the ſervices he had rendered to his fellow-crea-

tures, was not confined to the limits of his extenſive buſineſs in the city of Edinburgh. While the illuſtrious actions of moſt men may be viewed with a naked eye, the atchievements of Dr. Cullen in the diſtant regions of humanity and ſcience, can only be perceived by the help of a teleſcope. Let us apply this inſtrument to diſcover his exploits of beneficence in every quarter of the world. He had filled the capitals, and moſt of the towns of Great Britain and Ireland with eminent phyſicians. Many of his pupils had arrived at the firſt honors in their profeſſion in the principal cities on the continent of Europe. Many of them had extended the bleſſings of his improvements in the principles and practice of medicine, to every Britiſh ſettlement in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and to every free ſtate in America. But the ſum of his uſefulneſs did not end here. He had taught the different profeſſors in the Univerſity of Pennſylvania, the art of teaching others the moſt ſucceſsful methods of curing diſeaſes, and thereby he had conveyed the benefits of his diſcoveries into every part of the United States. How great was the maſs of ſuch accumulated beneficence! and how ſublime muſt have been the pleaſure which the review of it created in his mind! Had it been poſſible for the merit of ſuch extenſive and complicated ſervices to mankind to have reſcued one mortal from the grave, Dr. Cullen had never died. But the decree of death is univerſal, and even the healing art, is finally of no effect in ſaving the lives of

thoſe who have exerciſed it with the moſt ſucceſs in ſaving the lives of others.

Dr. Cullen is now no more. What a blank has been produced by his death in the great volume of Science! Behold! The genius of humanity weeping at his feet, while the genius of medicine lifts up the key, which fell from his hand with his laſt breath, and with inexpreſſible concern, cries out, "to whom ſhall I give this inſtrument? Who now will unlock for me the treaſures of univerſal nature?"

Venerable Shade, adieu! What though thy American pupils were denied the melancholy pleaſure of following thee from thy Profeſſor's-chair to thy ſick bed, with their effuſions of gratitude, and praiſe! What though we did not ſhare in the grief of thy funeral obſequies, and though we ſhall never bedew with our tears the ſplendid monument which thy affectionate and grateful Britiſh pupils have decreed for thee in the metropolis of thy native country; yet the remembrance of thy talents and virtues, ſhall be preſerved in each of our boſoms, and never ſhall we return in triumph from beholding the efficacy of medicine in curing a diſeaſe, without feeling our obligations for the inſtructions we have derived from thee!

I repeat it again, Dr. Cullen is now no more—— No more, I mean, a pillar and ornament of an ancient ſeat of ſcience—no more, the delight and ad-

miration of his pupils—no more the luminary of medicine to half the globe—no more the friend and benefactor of mankind.——But I would as ſoon believe that our ſolar ſyſtem was created only to amuſe and periſh like a rocket, as believe that a mind endowed with ſuch immenſe powers of action and contemplation had ceaſed to exiſt. Reaſon bids us hope that he will yet *live*—And Revelation enables us to ſay, with certainty and confidence, that he ſhall again *live*.——Fain would I lift the curtain which ſeparates eternity from time, and inquire—— But it is not for mortals to pry into the ſecrets of the inviſible world.

Such was the man whoſe memory we have endeavoured to celebrate. He lived for our benefit. It remains only that we improve the event of his death in ſuch a manner, that he may die for our benefit likewiſe. For this purpoſe I ſhall finiſh our Eulogium with the following obſervations.

I. Let us learn from the character of Dr. Cullen duly to eſtimate our profeſſion. While Aſtronomy claims a Newton, and Electricity a Franklin, Medicine has been equally honoured by having employed the genius of a Cullen. Whenever therefore we feel ourſelves diſpoſed to relax in our ſtudies, to uſe our profeſſion for ſelfiſh purpoſes, or to neglect the poor, let us recollect how much we leſſen the dignity which Dr. Cullen has conferred upon our profeſſion.

II. By the death of Dr. Cullen the republic of medicine has loſt one of its moſt diſtinguiſhed and uſeful members. It is incumbent upon us therefore to double our diligence in order to ſupply the loſs of our indefatigable fellow-citizen. That phyſician has lived to little purpoſe, who does not leave his profeſſion in a more improved ſtate than he found it. Let us remember, that our obligations to add ſomething to the capital of medical knowledge, are equally binding with our obligations to practiſe the virtues of integrity and humanity in our intercourſe with our patients. Let no uſeful fact therefore, however inconſiderable it may appear, be kept back from the public eye; for there are mites in ſcience as well as in charity, and the remote conſequences of both are often alike important and beneficial. Facts are the morality of medicine. They are the ſame in all ages and in all countries. They have preſerved the works of the immortal Sydenham from being deſtroyed by their mixture with his abſurd theories; and under all the revolutions in ſyſtems that will probably take place hereafter, the facts which are contained in Dr. Cullen's works, will conſtitute the beſt ſecurity for their ſafe and grateful reception by future ages.

III. Human nature is ever prone to extremes. While we celebrate the praiſes of Dr. Cullen, let us take care leſt we check a ſpirit of free inquiry, by too

great a regard for his authority in medicine. I well remember an obſervation ſuited to our preſent purpoſe which he delivered in his introduction to a courſe of lectures on the Inſtitutes of Medicine in the year 1766. After ſpeaking of the long continued and extenſive empire of Galen in the ſchools of phyſic, he ſaid, "It "is a great diſadvantage to any ſcience to have been "improved by a great man. His authority impoſes "indolence, timidity, or idolatry upon all who come "after him."—Let us avoid theſe evils in our veneration for Dr. Cullen. To believe in great men, is often as great an obſtacle to the progreſs of knowledge, as to believe in witches and conjurers. It is the image worſhip of ſcience; for error is as much an attribute of man, as the deſire of happineſs; and I think I have obſerved, that the errors of great men partake of the dimenſions of their minds, and are often of a greater magnitude than the errors of men of inferior underſtanding. Dr. Brown has proved the imperfection of human genius, by extending ſome parts of Dr. Cullen's ſyſtem of phyſic, and by correcting ſome of its defects. But he has left much to be done by his ſucceſſors. He has even bequeathed to them the labor of removing the errors he has introduced into medicine by his neglect of an important principle in the animal œconomy, and by his ignorance of the hiſtories and ſymptoms of diſeaſes. Perhaps no ſyſtem of medicine can be perfect, while there exiſts a ſingle diſeaſe which we do not know, or cannot cure. If this be true, then a

complete ſyſtem of medicine cannot be formed, till America has furniſhed deſcriptions and cures of all her peculiar diſeaſes. The United States have improved the ſcience of civil government. The freedom of our conſtitutions, by imparting vigor and independence to the mind, is favourable to bold and original thinking upon all ſubjects. Let us avail ourſelves therefore of this political aid to our reſearches, and endeavour to obtain hiſtories and cures of all our diſeaſes, that we may thereby contribute our part towards the formation of a complete ſyſtem of medicine. As a religion of ſome kind is abſolutely neceſſary to promote morals; ſo ſyſtems of medicine of ſome kind, are equally neceſſary to produce a regular mode of practice. They are not only neceſſary, but unavoidable in medicine; for no phyſician, nay more, no empire, practices without them.

The preſent is an age of great improvement. While the application of reaſon to the ſciences of government and religion, is daily meliorating the condition of mankind, it is agreeable to obſerve the influence of medicine, in leſſening human miſery, by abating the mortality or violence of many diſeaſes. The decrees of heaven appear to be fulfilling by natural means; and if no ancient prophecies had declared it, the late numerous diſcoveries in medicine would authorize us to ſay, that the time is approaching, when not only tyranny, diſcord and ſuperſtition ſhall ceaſe from our world, but when diſeaſes ſhall be unknown, or ceaſe

to be incurable; and when old age ſhall be the only outlet of human life,

"Thus heavenward all things tend."

In that glorious æra, every diſcovery in medicine ſhall meet with its full reward; and the more abundant gratitude of poſterity to the name of Dr. Cullen; ſhall then bury in oblivion the feeble attempt of this day to comply with your vote to perpetuate his fame.

AN EULOGIUM UPON DAVID RITTENHOUSE, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY; DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN HIGH-STREET, PHILADELPHIA, ON THE 17TH DECEMBER, 1796, AGREEABLY TO APPOINTMENT, AND PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

Gentlemen of the Philoſophical Society.

Friends and Colleagues,

WE are aſſembled this day upon a mournful occaſion. Death has made an inroad upon our Society. Our illuſtrious and beloved PRESIDENT, is no more. RITTENHOUSE, the ingenious, the modeſt and the wiſe—RITTENHOUSE, the friend of God and man, is now no more!———For this, the temple of Science is hung in mourning—for this, our eyes now drop a tributary tear. Nor do we weep alone.—The United States of America ſympathize in our grief, for his name gave a ſplendor to the American character, and the friends of humanity in diſtant parts

of the world, unite with us in lamenting our common loſs—for he belonged to the whole human race.

By your vote to perpetuate the memory of this great and good man, you have made a laudable attempt to reſcue philoſophers from their humble rank in the hiſtory of mankind. It is to them we owe our knowledge and poſſeſſion of moſt of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life. To procure theſe bleſſings for us, "they trim their midnight lamp, and hang o'er the ſickly taper." For us, they traverſe diſtant regions, expoſe themſelves to the inclemencies of the weather, mingle with ſavages and beaſts of prey, and in ſome inſtances, evince their love of ſcience and humanity by the ſacrifice of their lives.

The amiable philoſopher whoſe talents and virtues are to be the ſubject of the following eulogium, is entitled to an uncommon portion of our gratitude and praiſe. He acquired his knowledge at the expenſe of uncommon exertions, he perſormed ſervices of uncommon difficulty, and finally he impaired his health, and probably ſhortened his life, by the ardor of his ſtudies and labors for the benefit of mankind.

In attempting to diſcharge the difficult and painful duty you have aſſigned to me, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the life of Mr. Rittenhouſe, inaſmuch as ſeveral of the moſt intereſting parts of his character are intimately connected with it.

The village of Germantown in the neighbourhood of this city, had the honor of giving birth to this diſtinguiſhed philoſopher on the 8th day of April, in the year 1732. His anceſtors migrated from Holland about the beginning of the preſent century. They were diſtinguiſhed, together with his parents, for probity, induſtry, and ſimple manners. It is from ſources thus pure and retired, that thoſe talents and virtues have been chiefly derived, which have in all ages enlightened the world. They prove by their humble origin, that the Supreme Being has not ſurrendered up the direction of human affairs to the advantages acquired by accident or vice, and they bear a conſtant and faithful teſtimony of his impartial goodneſs, by their neceſſary and regular influence in equalizing the condition of mankind. This is the divine order of things, and every attempt to invert it, is a weak and unavailing effort to wreſt the government of the world from the hands of God.

The early part of the life of Mr. Rittenhouſe was ſpent in agricultural employments under the eye of his father, in the county of Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, to which place he removed during the childhood of his Son. It was at this place his peculiar genius firſt diſcovered itſelf. His plough, the fences, and even the ſtones of the field in which he worked, were frequently marked with figures which denoted a talent for mathematical ſtudies. Upon

finding that the native delicacy of his conſtitution unfitted him for the labors of huſbandry, his parents conſented to his learning the trade of a clock and mathematical inſtrument maker. In acquiring the knowledge of theſe uſeful arts, he was his own inſtructor.—They afforded him great delight, inaſmuch as they favoured his diſpoſition to inquire into the principles of natural philoſophy.—Conſtant employment of any kind, even in the practice of the mechanical arts, has been found, in many inſtances, to adminiſter vigor to human genius. Franklin ſtudied the laws of nature, while he handled his printing types. The father of Rouſſeau, a jeweller at Geneva, became acquainted with the principles of national juriſprudence, by liſtening to his ſon while he read to him in his ſhop, the works of Grotius and Puffendorf; and Herſchel conceived the great idea of a new planet, while he exerciſed the humble office of a muſician to a marching regiment.

It was during the reſidence of our ingenious philoſopher with his father in the country, that he made himſelf maſter of Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia, which he read in the Engliſh tranſlation of Mr. Mott. It was here likewiſe he became acquainted with the ſcience of Fluxions, of which ſublime invention he believed himſelf for a while to be the author, nor did he know for ſome years afterwards, that a conteſt had been carried on between Sir Iſaac Newton and Leibnitz, for the honor of that great and uſeful diſcovery. What

a mind was here!———Without literary friends or ſociety, and with but two or three books, he became, before he had reached his four and twentieth year, the rival of the two greateſt mathematicians in Europe!

It was in this retired ſituation, and while employed in working at his trade, that he planned and executed an orrery, in which he repreſented the revolutions of the heavenly bodies in a manner more extenſive and complete, than had been done by any former aſtronomers. A correct deſcription of this orrery drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Smith, is publiſhed in the firſt volume of our Tranſactions. This maſter-piece of ingenious mechaniſm was purchaſed by the college of New-Jerſey. A ſecond was made by him, after the ſame model, for the uſe of the college of Philadelphia. It now forms part of the philoſophical apparatus of the Univerſity of Pennſylvania, where it has for many years commanded the admiration of the ingenious and the learned, from every part of the world.

The reputation he derived from the conſtruction of this orrery, as well as his general character for mathematical knowledge, attracted the notice of his fellow-citizens in Pennſylvania, and in ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates, but the diſcovery of his uncommon merit belonged chiefly to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Barton, Dr. Smith, and the late Mr. John Lukens, an ingenious mathematician of this city. Theſe gentlemen fully appreciated his talents, and united in

urging him to remove to Philadelphia, in order to enlarge his opportunities of improvement and uſefulneſs. He yielded with reluctance to their advice, and exchanged his beloved retirement in the country for this city, in the year 1770. Here he continued for ſeveral years, to follow his occupation of a clock and mathematical inſtrument maker. He excelled in both branches of that buſineſs. His mathematical inſtruments have been eſteemed by good judges to be ſuperior in accuracy and workmanſhip to any of the ſame kind that have been imported from Europe.

About the time he ſettled in Philadelphia, he became a member of our Society. His firſt communication to the Society was a calculation of the tranſit of Venus as it was to happen on the 3d of June, 1769, in 40° north latitude, and 5 hours weſt longitude from Greenwich. He was one of a committee appointed by the Society to obſereve in the townſhip of Norriton, this rare occurence in the revolution, of that planet, and bore an active part in the preparations which were made for that purpoſe. Of this Dr. Smith who was likewiſe of the committee, has left an honourable record in the hiſtory of that event which is publiſhed in the firſt volume of the tranſactions of our Society. "As Mr. Rittenhouſe's dwelling (ſays the Doctor) is about twenty miles north weſt from Philadelphia; our other engagements did not permit Mr. Lukens or myſelf to pay much attention to the neceſſary preparations; but we knew that we had intruſted them

to a gentleman on the ſpot [meaning Mr. Rittenhouſe] who had, joined to a complete ſkill in mechanics, ſo extenſive an aſtronomical, and mathematical knowledge, that the uſe, management and even conſtruction of the apparatus, were perfectly familiar to him. The laudable pains he had taken in theſe material articles will beſt appear from the work itſelf, which he hath committed into my hands, with a modeſt introduction, giving me a liberty with them, which his own accuracy, taſte and abilities leave no room to exerciſe.

We are naturally led here to take a view of our philoſopher with his aſſociates in their preparations to obſerve a phænomenon which had never been ſeen but twice before by any inhabitant of our earth, which would never be ſeen again by any perſon then living, and on which depended very important aſtronomical conſequences. The night before the long expected day, was probably paſſed in a degree of ſolicitude which precluded ſleep. How great muſt have been their joy when they beheld the morning ſun, "and the whole horizon without a cloud;" for ſuch is the deſcription of the day given by Mr. Rittenhouſe in the report referred to by Dr. Smith. In penſive ſilence, and trembling anxiety, they waited for the predicted moment of obſervation; it came, and brought with it all that had been wiſhed for and expected by thoſe who ſaw it. In our philoſoper, it excited in the inſtant of one of the

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contacts of the planet with the ſun, an emotion of delight ſo exquiſite and powerful, as to induce fainting. This will readily be believed by thoſe who have known the extent of that pleaſure which attends the diſcovery, or firſt perception of truth. Soon after this event, we find him acting as one of a committee appointed to obſerve the tranſit of Mercury on the 9th of November in the ſame year. This was likewiſe done at Norriton, An account of it was drawn up, and publiſhed at the requeſt of the committee by Dr. Smith. A minute hiſtory of the whole of theſe events, in which Mr. Rittenhouſe continued to act a diſtinguiſhed part, is given in our tranſactions. It was received with great ſatisfaction by the aſtronomers of Europe, and contributed much to raiſe the character of our then infant country for aſtronomical knowledge.

In the year 1775, he was appointed to compoſe and deliver the annual oration before our ſociety. The ſubject of it, was the hiſtory of aſtronomy. The language of this oration is ſimple, but the ſentiments contained in it are ingenious, original, and in ſome inſtances ſublime. It was delivered in a feeble voice, and without any of the advantages of oratory, but it commanded notwithſtanding, the moſt profound attention, and was followed by univerſal admiration and applauſe from a crouded and reſpectable audience.

From the contents of this oration, it appears that Aſtronomy was the favourite object of his ſtudies.

Attempts have been made to depreciate this branch of natural philoſophy, by denying its utility, and application to human affairs.—The opinion is an unjuſt one, and as it tends to convey a limited idea of the talents of Mr. Rittenhouſe, I hope I ſhall be excuſed in ſaying a few words in favour of this ſcience.

It is to aſtronomy we are indebted for our knowledge of navigation, by which means the different parts of our globe have been diſcovered, and afterwards cemented together by the mutual wants and obligations of commerce.

It was aſtronomy that taught mankind the art of predicting and explaining eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, and thereby delivered them from the ſuperſtition which in the early ages of the world, was connected with thoſe phænomena of nature.

We are taught by aſtronomy to correct our ideas of the viſible heavens, and thus by diſcovering the fallacy of the ſimple evidence of our ſenſes, to call to their aid, the uſe of our reaſon, in deciding upon all material objects of human knowledge.

Aſtronomy delivers the mind from a groveling attachment to the purſuits and pleaſures of this world. "Take the miſer (ſays our philoſopher in his oration) from the earth, if it be poſſible diſengage him —he whoſe nightly reſt has been long broken by the loſs of a ſingle foot of it, uſeleſs perhaps to him; and remove him to the planet Mars, one of the leaſt

diſtant from us—Perſuade the ambitious monarch to accompany him, who has ſacrificed the lives of thouſands of his ſubjects to an imaginary property in certain ſmall portions of the earth, and point out this earth to them, with all its kingdoms and wealth, a glittering ſtar, cloſe by the moon, the latter ſcarce viſible, and the former, leſs bright than our evening ſtar.—They would turn away their diſguſted ſight from it, not thinking it worth their ſmalleſt attention, and ſeek for conſolation, in the gloomy regions of Mars.".

Once more—the ſtudy of aſtronomy has the moſt friendly influence upon morals, and religion. "Yes," (ſays our philoſopher in another part of his oration) "the direct tendency of this ſcience is to dilate the heart with univerſal benevolence, and to enlarge its views. It flatters no princely vice, nor national depravity. It encourages not the libertine by relaxing any of the precepts of morality, nor does it attempt to undermine the foundations of religion. It denies none of thoſe attributes, which the wiſeſt and beſt of mankind have in all ages aſcribed to the Deity. Nor does it degrade the human mind from that dignity which is ever neceſſary to make it contemplate *itſelf* with complacency. None of theſe things does aſtronomy pretend to, and if theſe things merit the name of philoſophy, and the encouragement of a people, then let ſcepticiſm flouriſh, and aſtronomy lie neglected.—Let the names of Barkley and Hume

become immortal, and that of Newton be loſt in oblivion."—

The following is a liſt of ſuch of Mr. Rittenhouſe's other publications as are contained in the three volumes of our tranſactions.

Obſervations of the comet which appeared in June and July 1770, with the elements of its motion and the trajectory of its path, in a letter to Dr. William Smith.

An eaſy method of deducing the true time of the ſun's paſſing the meridian, by means of a clock, from a compariſon of four equal attitudes, obſerved on two ſucceeding days, without the help of the equation tables, communicated by Dr. William Smith.

An explanation of an opticle deception, namely, that the ſurfaces of bodies viewed through the double microſcope, ſometimes appear to be reverſed, that is, thoſe parts which are elevated ſeem depreſſed, and the contrary.

An account of a remarkable meteor obſerved at Philadelphia on the 31ſt of October, 1775, with ſome conjectures relative to the theory of meteors, in anſwer to a letter from John Page, Eſq. giving an account of the ſame meteor ſeen in many diſtant places in Virginia.

Conjectures, corroborated by experiments, relative to a new theory of magnetiſm; in a letter to John Page, Eſq. of Virginia.

A new method of placing a meridian mark for a tranſit inſtrument within a few feet of the obſervatory, ſo as to have all the advantages of one placed at a great diſtance; in a letter to the Rev. Dr. John Ewing.

Obſervations on a comet diſcovered in the month of January 1784.

An explanation of a curious optical phænomenon, namely, if a candle or other luminous body be viewed through a ſilk umbrella, handkerchief or the like, the luminous body will appear to be doubled; in a letter to Francis Hopkinſon, Eſq.

A ſeries of obſervations made at ſundry times in the years 1784, 85, and 86 on the new planet, or Georgium Sidus, alſo an obſervation of the tranſit of Mercury over the Sun's diſk on the 12th of November 1782.

An account of three houſes in Philadelphia ſtruck with lightning on the 7th of June 1789.

An account of the effects of a ſtroke of lightning upon a houſe furniſhed with two metallic conductors on the 17th of Auguſt, 1789; in a letter to Mr. Robert Patterſon.

Aſtronomical obſervations made at Philadelphia, containing an account of the eclipſe of the Moon on the 2d of November 1789.

An account of the tranſit of Mercury over the Sun's diſk, on the 5th of November 1789.

An account of the eclipſe of the Sun, on the 6th. of November 1790, with an account of correſponding obſervations, made at the univerſity of William and Mary, in Virginia, by Dr. J. Madiſon, and at Waſhington college, in Maryland, by the Rev. Dr. Smith.

Short, and elegant theorems for finding the ſum of the ſeveral powers of the lines, either to a radius of unity, or any other; in a letter to Mr. Robert Paterſon.

An account of a comet diſcovered in the month of January 1793; in a letter to Mr. Robert Patterſon.

Beſides theſe publications, our ſociety is in poſſeſſion of the following communications from Mr. Rittenhouſe, which are now in the preſs and will be ſpeedily publiſhed in the fourth volume of our tranſactions.

A method of determining the true plane of a planet in an eliptical form by converging ſeries, directly from the mean anomaly.

A new and eaſy method of calculating logarihims; in a letter to Mr. Robert Patterſon.

A deſcription of an improvement on pendulum clocks, by which the error ariſing from the different denſity, or reſiſtance of the medium in which the pendulum vibrates, is effectually obviated.

Laſtly, experiments on the expanſion of wood by heat.

Talents ſo ſplendid, and knowledge ſo practical in mathematicks, are like mines of precious metals. They become public property by univerſal conſent. The State of Pennſylvania was not inſenſible of the wealth ſhe poſſeſſed in the mind of Mr. Rittenhouſe. She claimed him as her own, and employed him in buſineſs of the moſt important nature.

In the year 1779 he was appointed by the legiſlature of Pennſylvania, one of the commiſſioners for adjuſting a territorial diſpute between Pennſylvania and Virginia, and to his talents, moderation and firmneſs, were aſcribed in a great degree, the ſatisfactory termination, of that once alarming controverſy in the year 1785.

In 1784 he aſſiſted in determining the length of five degrees of longitude from a point on the Delaware, in order to fix the weſtern limits of Pennſylvania.

In 1786, he was employed in fixing the northern line which divides Pennſylvania from New-York.

But the application of his talents and knowledge to the ſettlement of territorial diſputes, was not confined to his native ſtate. In the year 1769, he was employed in ſettling the limits between New-Jerſey and New-York, and in 1787 he was called upon to aſſiſt in fixing the boundary line between the States of Maſſachuſetts and New-York. This laſt buſineſs which was executed with his uſual preciſion and integrity, was his farewel peace offering to the union and happineſs of his country.

In his excurſions through the wilderneſs, he carried with him his habits of inquiry and obſervation. Nothing in our mountains, ſoils, rivers, and ſprings eſcaped his notice. It is to be lamented that his private letters, and the memories of his friends, are the only records of what he collected upon theſe occaſions. Philoſopher, or naturaliſt, whoſoever thou art! that ſhalt hereafter traverſe the unfrequented woods of our ſtate, forget not to reſpect the paths, firſt marked by the feet of this ingenious, and faithful ſervant of the public. Honour the fountains conſecrated to ſcience by his ſkilful hand, and inhale with double pleaſure the pure atmoſphere of the mountains, on which he renewed his acquaintance with the canopy of heaven, after paſſing whole weeks in foreſts ſo ſhady, as to conceal from him the rays of the ſun. And citizens of Pennſylvania, friends and patrons of literature, be grateful for his ſervices. Let the remembrance of them be dear to the preſent generation, and let a part

of the ſtate diſtinguiſhed in a more eſpecial manner for its reſources in natural knowledge, bear his name with honor to the lateſt poſterity.

In the year 1791, he was choſen ſucceſſor to Dr. Franklin in the chair of our ſociety. In this elevated ſtation, the higheſt that philoſophy can confer in our country, his conduct was marked by its uſual line of propriety and dignity. Never did the artificial pomp of ſtation command half the reſpect, which followed his unaſſuming manners in the diſcharge of the public duties of this office.. You will often recollect, gentlemen, with a mixture of pleaſure and pain, the delightful evenings you paſſed in the ſociety, every time he preſided in your meetings.. They were uniformly characterized by ardor in the purſuits of ſcience, urbanity and brotherly kindneſs. His attachment to the intereſts of the ſociety was evinced ſoon after he accepted of the Preſident's chair, by a donation of three hundred pounds.

But his talents and knowledge were not limited to mathematical or material ſubjects; his mind was a repoſitory of the knowledge of all ages and countries. He had early and deeply ſtudied moſt of the different ſyſtems of theology. He was well acquainted with practical metaphyſicks. In reading travels he took great delight. From them, he drew a large fund of his knowledge of the natural hiſtory of our globe. He poſſeſſed talents for muſic and poetry, but the more ſerious and neceſſary purſuits of his life, prevented his

devoting much time to the cultivation of them. He read the Engliſh poets with great pleaſure. The muſe of Thomſon charmed him moſt. He admired his elegant combination of philoſophy and poetry However oppoſed theſe ſtudies may appear, they alike derive their perfection from extenſive and accurate obſervations of the works of nature. He was intimately acquainted with the French, German and Dutch languages, the two former of which he acquired without the aſſiſtance of a maſter. They ſerved the valuable purpoſe of conveying to him the diſcoveries of foreign nations, and thereby enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies with more advantage, in his native language.

In ſpeaking of Mr. Rittenhouſe, it has been common to lament his want of what is called a liberal education. —Were education what it ſhould be, in our public ſeminaries, this would have been a misfortune, but conducted as it is at preſent, agreeably to the ſyſtems adopted in Europe in the fifteenth century, I am diſpoſed to believe that his extenſive knowledge, and ſplendid character are to be aſcribed chiefly to his having eſcaped the pernicious influence of monkiſh learning upon his mind in early life. Had the uſual forms of a public education in the United States been impoſed upon him; inſtead of revolving through life in a planetary orbit, he would probably have conſumed the force of his genius by fluttering around the blaze of an evening taper. Ritttenhouſe the philoſopher, and one of the luminaries of the eighteenth century, might have ſpent

his hours of ſtudy in compoſing ſyllogiſms, or in meaſuring the feet of Greek and Latin poetry.

It will be honorable to the citizens of the United States, to add, that they were not inſenſible of the merit of our philoſopher. Inventions and improvements in every art and ſcience, were frequently ſubmitted to his examination, and were afterwards patroniſed by the public, according as they were approved of by him. Wherever he went, he met with public reſpect, and private attentions. But his reputation was not confined to his native country. His name was known and admired in every region of the earth, where ſcience and genius are cultivated and reſpected.*

Such were the talents and knowledge, and ſuch the fame, of our departed Preſident! His virtues now demand our tribute of praiſe.—And here, I am leſs at a loſs to know what to ſay, than what to leave unſaid. We have hitherto beheld him as a philoſopher, ſoaring like the eagle, until our eyes have been dazzled by his near approaches to the ſun. We ſhall now contemplate him at a leſs diſtance, and behold him in the familiar character of a man, fulfilling his various duties, in their utmoſt extent. If any thing has been ſaid of his

* The degree of maſter of Arts was conferred upon him by the College of Philadelphia, in 1768. The ſame degree was conferred upon him by the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, in 1784. In the year 1789, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the College of New-Jerſey. He was elected a Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boſton in 1782, and of the Royal Society in London in 1795.

talents and knowledge that has excited attention, or kindled desires in the younger members of our society, to pursue him in his path of honor, let me request them not to forsake me here. Come, and learn by his example, to be good, as well as great.——His virtues furnish the most shining models for your imitation for they were never obscured in any situation or stage of his life, by a single cloud of weakness or vice. As the source of these virtues, whether of a public or private nature, I shall first mention his exalted sense of moral obligation, founded upon the revelation of the perfections of the Supreme Being. This appears from many passages in his oration, and from his private letters to his friends. In his oration we find the following pious sentiment. "Should it please that Almighty Power who hath placed us in a world in which we are only permitted 'to look about us and to die,' to indulge us with existence throughout that half of eternity which still remains unspent, and to conduct us through the several stages of his works, *here* (meaning in the study of astronomy) is ample provision made for employing every faculty of the mind, even allowing its powers to be enlarged through an endless repetition of ages. Let us not complain of the vanity of this world, and that there is nothing in it capable of satisfying us. Happy in those wants—happy in those desires, forever in succession to be gratified—happy in a continual approach to the Deity."

"I muſt confeſs that I am not one of thoſe ſanguine ſpirits who ſeem to think that when the withered hand of death has drawn up the curtain of eternity, all diſtance between the creature and the Creator, and between finite and infinite, will be annihilated. Every enlargement of our faculties—every new happineſs conferred upon us, every ſtep we advance towards the Divinity, will very probably render us more and more ſenſible of his inexhauſtible ſtores of communicable bliſs, and of his inacceſſible perfections."

There appears to be a natural connection between a knowledge of the works of nature and juſt ideas of the divine perfections; and if philoſophers have not in all ages been equally devout with our Preſident, it becomes us to acquire how far the beneficial influence of philoſophy upon religion, may have been prevented by their minds being pre-occupied in early life with the fictions of ancient poets, and the vices of the heathen gods. It remains yet to be determined, whether all the moral as well as natural attributes of the Deity may not be diſcovered in the form, and œconomy of the material world, and whether that righteouſneſs which deſcended from heaven near eighteen hundred years ago, may not wait for philoſophical truth to ſpring up from the earth, in order by uniting with it, to command univerſal belief and obedience. This opinion, as far as it relates to one of the moral attributes of the Deity, ſeems to have been admitted by our philoſopher in the following elegant and pious extract from a letter

to one of his friends " give me leave (ſays he) to mention two or three proofs of infinite goodneſs in the works of creation. The firſt is, poſſeſſing goodneſs in ourſelves. Now it is inconſiſtent with all juſt reaſoning to ſuppoſe, that there is any thing good, lovely or praiſe-worthy in us, which is not poſſeſſed in an infinitely higher degree by that Being who firſt called us into exiſtence. In the next place I reckon the exquiſite and innocent delight that many things around us are calculated to afford us. In this light the beauty and fragrance of a ſingle roſe is a better argument for divine goodneſs than a luxuriant field of wheat. For if we can ſuppoſe that we were created by a malevolent Being with a deſign to torment us for his amuſement, he muſt have furniſhed us with the means of ſubſiſtence, and either have made our condition tolerable, or not have left the means of quitting it at pleaſure, in our own power. Such being my opinions, you will not wonder at my fondneſs for what Mr. Addiſon calls 'the pleaſures of the imagination.' They are all to me, ſo many demonſtrations of infinite goodneſs.

If ſuch be the pious fruits of an attentive examination of the works of the Creator, ceaſe ye miniſters of the goſpel to defeat the deſign of your benevolent labors, by interpoſing the common ſtudies of the ſchools between our globe, and the minds of young people. Let their firſt ideas be thoſe which are obtruded upon their ſenſes, by the hand of nature. Permit the firmament of heaven, and the animal, vegetable and

mineral productions of the earth, to inſtruct them in the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Creator, and let the effects of phyſical evil upon general happineſs, vindicate the divine government, in permitting the exiſtence of moral evil in our world. Thus the perverſe paſſions of man, may be made to unite with ſtorms and tempeſts, in furniſhing proofs of the goodneſs of the Creator of the univerſe.

But the religion of Mr. Rittenhouſe, was not derived wholly from his knowledge and admiration of the material world. He believed in the Chriſtian revelation. Of this, he gave many proofs, not only in the conformity of his life, to the precepts of the goſpel, but in his letters and converſation. I well recollect in ſpeaking to me of the truth and excellency of the Chriſtian religion, he mentioned as an evidence of its divine origin, that the miracles of our Saviour differed from all other miracles, in being entirely of a kind and benevolent nature. It is no ſmall triumph to the friends of Revelation to obſerve, in this age of infidelity, that our religion has been admitted and even defended by men of the moſt exalted underſtanding, and of the ſtrongeſt reaſoning powers. The ſingle teſtimony of David Rittenhouſe in its favor, outweighs the declamations of whole nations againſt it.*

* Since the publication of the Eulogium in a pamphlet, I have received the following account of Mr. Rittenhouſe's religious principles, in a letter from his widow, dated Auguſt 20th 1797. "That you were "ſufficiently authorized to aſſert what you did reſpecting Mr. Ritten-

As the natural effect of his belief in the relation of the whole human race to each other in a common Father and Redeemer, he embraced the whole family of mankind in the arms of his benevolence. The force and extent of this virtue in his heart, will appear from my reading one more extract from his oration. I am aware how much I ſuffer by introducing quotations from that eloquent performance, for they will caſt a ſhade upon all I have ſaid, or ſhall ſay upon this occaſion.

" How far, (ſays our philoſopher) the inhabitants of the other planets may reſemble men, we cannot pretend to ſay. If like them they were created liable to fall, yet ſome, if not all of them may ſtill retain their original rectitude. We will hope they do; the thought is comfortable.—Ceaſe then Gallileo to improve thy optic tube, and thou great Newton, forbear thy ardent ſearch, into the myſteries of nature, leſt ye make unwelcome diſcoveries. Deprive us not of the pleaſure of believing that yonder orbs, traverſing in ſilent majeſty the etherial regions, are the peaceful ſeats of inno-

" houſe's religious principles. I now add my teſtimony to what you " have ſaid, for well I know the great truths of religion engaged " much of his attention, and indeed were interwoven with almoſt every " important concern of his life. I do not recollect, if in any of the " converſations I have had with you, I informed you, what I now do, " that Dr. Price's opinions reſpecting Chriſtianity were more in uniſon " with his own, than any others of the divines, that Dr. Price's ſer- " mons was the laſt book he requeſted me to read to him, and that the " laſt morning of his life, he reminded me that I had not finiſhed one " of the Doctor's diſcourſes which I had began the preceeding evening."

cence and bliſs, where neither natural or moral evil has ever intruded, and where to enjoy with gratitude and adoration the Creator's bounty, is the buſineſs of exiſtence. If their inhabitants reſemble man in their faculties and affections, let us ſuppoſe that they are wiſe enough to govern themſelves according to the dictates of that reaſon, God has given in ſuch a manner, as to conſult their own, and each other's happineſs upon all occaſions. But if on the contrary, they have found it neceſſary to erect artificial fabrics of government, let us not ſuppoſe they have done it with ſo little ſkill, and at ſuch an enormous expenſe, as to render them a misfortune, inſtead of a bleſſing.—We will hope that their ſtateſmen are patriots, and that their kings (if that order of beings has found admittance there) have the feelings of humanity. Happy people! —and perhaps more happy ſtill, that all communication with us is denied. 'We have neither corrupted you with our vices, nor injured you by violence. None of your ſons and daughters have been degraded from their native dignity, and doomed to endleſs ſlavery in America, merely becauſe their bodies may be diſpoſed to reflect, or abſorb the rays of light, different from ours. Even you, inhabitants of the Moon, ſituated in our very neighbourhood, are effectually ſecured from the rapacious hands of the oppreſſors of our globe. And the utmoſt efforts of the mighty Frederick, the tyrant of the North, and ſcourge of mankind, if aimed to diſturb your peace, becomes inconceivably ridiculous and impotent."

"Pardon theſe reflections. They ariſe not from the gloomy ſpirit of miſanthrophy. That Being, before whoſe piercing eye all the intricate foldings of the human heart, become expanded, and illuminated, is my witneſs with what ſincerity, with what ardor —I wiſh for the happineſs of the whole race of mankind.—How much I admire that diſpoſition of lands and ſeas which affords a communication between diſtant regions, and a mutual exchange of beneſits—How ſincerely I approve of thoſe ſocial refinements, which add to our happineſs, and induce us with gratitude to acknowledge our Creator's goodneſs, and how much I delight in a participation of the diſcoveries made from time to time in nature's works, by our philoſophical brethern in Europe. But (adds our philoſopher) when I conſider that luxury, and her conſtant follower tyranny, which have long ſince laid the glories of Aſia in the duſt, are now advancing like a torrent, irreſiſtible, and have nearly completed their conqueſt over Europe—I am ready to wiſh ———vain wiſh! that nature would raiſe her everlaſting bars between the new and the old world, and make a voyage to Europe as impracticable as one to the moon."

As when a traveller in paſſing through a wilderneſs, ſlackens his pace to prolong the pleaſure of a ſudden and unexpected proſpect of a majeſtic river pouring its waters down the declivity of a cloud-cap't mountain, and ſpreading fertility and verdure throughout the adjacent vallies, ſo we feel diſpoſed to pauſe, and feaſt

upon the ſublime ſentiments contained in the paſſage which I have read. Citizens of the United States, receive and cheriſh them as a legacy from a friend, or a brother. Be juſt, and looſe the bands of the African ſlave. Be wiſe, and render war odious in our country. Be free, by aſſuming a national character and name, and be greatly happy, by erecting a barrier againſt the corruptions in morals, government, and religion, which now pervade all the nations of Europe. *

But the philanthropy of Mr. Rittenhouſe did not conſiſt ſimply in wiſhes for the happineſs of mankind. He reduced this divine principle to practice by a ſeries of faithful and diſintereſted ſervices to that part of his fellow creatures, to which the uſefulneſs of good men is chiefly confined. His country, his beloved country, was the object of the ſtrongeſt affections of

* Mr. William Barton, nephew to Mr. Rittenhouſe, has favoured me with the following extract of a letter in September, 1755, to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Barton, who was the friend and correſpondent of his youth, which ſhews how early and deeply the principles of univerſal benevolence were fixed in his mind.

"I would ſooner give up my intereſt in a future ſtate, than be diveſted of humanity;—I mean that good will I have to the ſpecies, although one half of them are ſaid to be fools, and almoſt the other half knaves. Indeed I am firmly perſuaded, that we are not at the diſpoſal of a Being who has the leaſt tincture of ill-nature, or requires any in us.—You will laugh at this grave philoſophy, or my writing to you on a ſubject which you have thought of a thouſand times: but, can any thing that is ſerious, be ridiculous?—Shall we ſuppoſe Gabriel ſmiling at Newton, for labouring to demonſtrate whether the earth be at reſt or not, becauſe the former plainly ſees it move?

his heart. For her, he thought,—for her, he laboured, —and for her, in the hours of her difficulties and danger, he wept,—in every ſtage of the American revolution. Patriots of 1776, you will acquit me of exaggeration here, for you feel in the recollection of what paſſed in your own boſoms, a witneſs of the truth of each of theſe aſſertions. The year of the declaration of Independance, which changed our royal governments into Republics, produced no change in his political principles, for he had been educated a Republican by his father. I can never forget the pleaſure with which he avowed his early but ſecret attachment to an elective and repreſentative form of government. Often have I heard him above twenty years, ago, predict the immenſe encreaſe of talents and knowledge which has been produced by the ſtrength and activity that have been infuſed into the American mind, by our republican conſtitutions. Often, likewiſe, at the ſame remote period of time, have I heard him anticipate with delight, the effects of our revolution in ſowing the ſeeds of a new order of things in other parts of the world. He believed political, as well as moral evil to be intruders into the ſociety of man—that general happineſs was the original deſign, and ultimate end of the divine government, and that a time would come, when every part of our globe, would echo back the heavenly proclamation of univerſal peace on earth, and good will to man.

Let it not be ſaid, that he departed from the duties of a Philoſopher, by devoting a part of his time and talents to the ſafety and happineſs of his country. It belongs to monarchies, to limit the buſineſs of government to a privileged order of men, and it is from the remains of a monarchical ſpirit in our country, that we complain when clergymen, phyſicians, philoſophers and mechanics, take an active part in civil affairs. The obligations of patriotiſm are as univerſal and binding, as thoſe of juſtice and benevolence, and the virtuous propenſities of the human heart are as much reſiſted by every individual who neglects the buſineſs of his country, as they are by the extinction of the domeſtic affections in a cell. Man was made for a republic, and a republic was made for man, otherwiſe Divine power and goodneſs have been waſted, in the creation and gift of his public affections.—Our philoſopher adopted this truth from the evidence of his feelings, in common with the reſt of mankind, but it was ſtrongly reinforced in his mind by numerous analogies of nature. How was it poſſible for him to contemplate light and air as the common and equal portions of every man, and not acknowledge that heaven intended liberty to be diſtributed in the ſame manner among the whole human race! Or how could he behold the beauty and harmony of the univerſe, as the reſult of univerſal and mutual dependance, and not admit that heaven intended rulers to be dependant upon thoſe, for whoſe benefit alone, all government ſhould

exiſt. To ſuppoſe the contrary, would be to deny unity and ſyſtem in the plans of the great creator of all things.

I ſhall make no apology for theſe ſentiments. They are not foreign to the ſolemnity of this diſcourſe. Had I ſaid leſs of the political principles and conduct of our enlightened Preſident, hundreds and thouſands of my fellow-citizens would have accuſed me, of an act of treachery to his memory. May the time never come, in which the praiſes of our republican governments, ſhall not be acceptable to the ears of an American audience!

In the more limited circles of private life, Mr. Rittenhouſe commanded eſteem and affection. As a neighbour he was kind and charitable. His ſympathy extended in a certain degree to diſtreſs of every kind, but it was excited with the moſt force, and the kindeſt effects, to the weakneſs, pain and poverty of old age.— As a friend he was ſincere, ardent, and diſintereſted. As a companion, he inſtructed upon all ſubjects. To his happy communicative diſpoſition, I beg leave to expreſs my obligations in this public manner. I can truly ſay, after an acquaintance with him for ſix-and-twenty years, that I never went into his company, without learning ſomething. With pleaſure have I looked beyond my preſent labors to a time, when his ſociety ſhould conſtitute one of the principal enjoyments of the evening of

my life.—But alas! that time, ſo often anticipated, and ſo delightful in proſpect—will never—come

I hope it will not be thought that I tread too cloſely upon his footſteps, when I preſume to lift the latch of his door, and to exhibit him in the domeſtic relations of a huſband and father. It was the practice of the philoſophers of former ages, to paſs their lives in their cloſets, and to maintain a formal and diſtant intercourſe with their families; but our philoſopher was a ſtranger to pride and impoſture in every thing. His family conſtituted his chief ſociety, and the moſt intimate circle of his friends. When the declining ſtate of his health, rendered the ſolitude of his ſtudy, leſs agreeable than in former years, he paſſed whole evenings in reading or converſing, with his wife and daughters. Happy family! ſo much and ſo long bleſſed with ſuch a head! and happier ſtill, to have poſſeſſed diſpoſitions and knowledge to diſcern and love his exalted character, and to enjoy his inſtructing converſation!—Thus Sir Thomas Moore lived with his accompliſhed wife and daughters;—Thus Cicero educated his beloved Tullia; and in this way only, can the female ſex be elevated to that dignity, and uſefulneſs in ſociety, for which they were formed, and by which from their influence upon manners, a new æra would be created in the hiſtory of mankind.

The houſe and manner of living, of our preſident, exhibited the taſte of a philoſopher, the ſimplicity of a

republican, and the temper of a Chriſtian. He was independent, and contented with an eſtate, ſmall in the eſtimation of ambition and avarice, but amply ſuited to all his wants and deſires. He held the office of treaſurer of Pennſylvania, by an annual and unanimous vote of the legiſlature, between the years 1777, and 1789. During this period, he declined purchaſing the ſmalleſt portion of the public debt of the ſtate, thereby manifeſting a delicacy of integrity, which is known and felt only by pure and elevated minds.

In the year 1792, he was perſuaded to accept of the office of Director of the mint of the United States. His want of health, obliged him to reſign it in 1795. Here his conduct was likewiſe above ſuſpicion, for I have been informed by his colleague in office,† that in ſeveral inſtances, he paid for work done at the mint out of his ſalary, where he thought the charges for it would be deemed extravagant by the United States.

His œconomy extended to a wiſe and profitable uſe of his time. No man ever found him unemployed. As an apology for detaining a friend a few minutes, while he arranged ſome papers he had been examining, he ſaid, "that he had once thought health, the greateſt bleſſing in the world, but that he now thought there was one thing of much greater value, and that was time." The propriety of this remark will appear when we conſider, that Providence, ſo liberal in other gifts, beſtows this, in a ſparing manner.

† Dr. Way.

He never gives a ſecond moment, until he has withdrawn the firſt, and ſtill reſerves the third in his own hand.

The countenance of Mr. Rittenhouſe, was too remarkable to be unnoticed upon this occaſion. It diſplayed ſuch a mixture of contemplation, benignity, and innocence, that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh his perſon in the largeſt company, by a previous knowledge of his character. His manners were civil, and engaging to ſuch a degree, that he ſeldom paſſed an hour, even in a public houſe, in travelling through our country without being followed by the good wiſhes of all who attended upon him. There was no affectation of ſingularity, in any thing he ſaid or did: even his hand writing, in which this weakneſs ſo frequently diſcovers itſelf, was ſimple and intelligible at firſt ſight, to all who ſaw it.

Here I expected to have finiſhed the detail of his virtues, but in the neighbourhood of that galaxy created by their connected luſtre, I behold a virtue of ineſtimable value, twinkling like a rare, and ſolitary ſtar. It is his ſuperlative modeſty. This heaven born virtue was ſo conſpicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not ſo much to conceal, as to be ignorant of his ſuperiority as a philoſopher and a man, over the greateſt part of his fellow creatures.

In reviewing the intellectual endowments and moral excellency of Mr. Rittenhouſe, and our late intimate

connection with him, we are led to rejoice in being men.

We proceed now to the closing scenes of his life.

His constitution was naturally feeble, but it was rendered still more so, by sedentary labor, and midnight studies. He was afflicted for many years with a weak breast, which, upon unusual exertions of body or mind, or sudden changes in the weather, became the seat of a painful and harrassing disorder. This constitutional infirmity was not without its uses. It contributed much to the perfection of his virtue, by producing habitual patience and resignation to the will of heaven, and a constant eye to the hour of his dissolution. It was a window through which he often looked with pleasure towards a place of existence, where from the encrease and perfection of his intuitive faculties, he would probably acquire more knowledge in an hour, than he had acquired in his whole life, by the slow operations of reason; and where, from the greater magnitude and extent of the the objects of his contemplation, his native globe, would appear like his cradle, and all the events of time, like the amusements of his infant years.

On the 26th of June, of the present year, the long expected messenger of death, disclosed his commission. In his last illness, which was acute, and short, he retained the usual patience and benevolence of his temper. Upon being told that some of

his friends had called at his door to enquire how he was; he aſked why they were not invited into his chamber to ſee him. "Becauſe (ſaid his wife) you are too weak to ſpeak to them." "Yes (ſaid he) that is true, but I could ſtill have ſqueezed their hands."—Thus with a heart overflowing with love to his family, friends, country, and to the whole world, he peacefully reſigned his ſpirit into the hands of his God. Let the day of his death be recorded in the annals of our ſociety, and let its annual return be marked by ſome public act, which ſhall characteriſe his ſervices and our grief, and thereby animate us and our ſucceſſors, to imitate his illuſtrious example!

It has been the faſhion of late years, to ſay of perſons who had been diſtinguiſhed in life, when they left the world in a ſtate of indifference to every thing, and believing, and hoping in nothing, that they died like philoſophers. Very different was the latter end of our excellent preſident. He died like a chriſtian, intereſted in the welfare of all around him—believing in the reſurrection, and the life to come, and hoping for happineſs from every attribute of the Deity.

Agreeably to his requeſt, his body was interred in his obſervatory near his dwelling houſe, in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of his fellow-citizens. It was natural for him in the near proſpect of appearing in the preſence of his Maker, to feel an

attachment to that ſpot in which he had cultivated a knowledge of his perfections, and held communion with him through the medium of his works. Hereafter it ſhall become one of the objects of curioſity in our city. Thither ſhall the philoſophers of future ages reſort to do homage to his tomb, and children yet unborn, ſhall point to the dome which covers it, and exultingly ſay, "there lies our Rittenhouſe."

Let us my reſpected colleagues, repair for a few minutes to that awful ſpot.—In entering it—we behold the teleſcope, dear inſtrument of his diſcoveries, turned upon its axis, and pointed to the earth, which has cloſed its maſter's eyes.—How artleſs—the inſcription upon his tombſtone!—It contains nothing but his name, and the ſimple record of the days and years of his birth and death.—Very different would have been the monument of his worth and fame, had not the gratitude and affection of his friends been controuled by his dying requeſt. His head would have reclined in marble, upon the lap of religion. At his feet, ſcience would have ſat—bathed in tears; while the genius of republican liberty, in the figure of a venerable hermit, bending over his grave, would have deplored the loſs of his favourite ſon.—Alas!—too—too ſoon has our beloved preſident been torn from the chair of our ſociety!—Too ſoon has he laid aſide his robes of office, and ceaſed to miniſter for us day and night at the altar of ſcience!—Ah!—who now will elevate his teleſcope, and again direct it towards yonder heavens?

Who now will obſerve the tranſit of the planets? Who now will awaken our nation to view the trackleſs and ſtupendous comet? Who now will meaſure the courſes of our rivers, in order to convey their ſtreams into our city, for the purpoſes of health and commerce?——Nature is dumb;——for the voice of her chief interpreter is huſhed in death.—In this hour of our bereavement, to whom ſhall we look?—but to THEE, FATHER of life and light:—thou author of great and good gifts to man. O! let not thy Sun, thy Moon, and thy Stars now ſhine unobſerved among us! may the genius of our departed preſident, like the mantle of thy prophet of old, deſcend upon ſome member of our ſociety, who ſhall, as he did, explain to us the myſteries of thy works, and lead us ſtep by ſtep, to THYSELF, the great overflowing fountain of wiſdom, goodneſs and mercy, to the children of men!

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